DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 462 740 EA 031 552

AUTHOR	Lindblad, Sverker, Ed.; Popkewitz, Thomas S., Ed.
TITLE	Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion: National Cases of Educational Systems and Recent Reforms. Uppsala Reports on Education 34.
INSTITUTION	Uppsala Univ. (Sweden). Dept. of Education.
ISBN	ISBN-91-86744-91-7
ISSN	ISSN-0348-3649
PUB DATE	1999-01-00
NOTE	259p.; Funded by European Commission, Targeted Socio-Economic Research.
AVAILABLE FROM	Department of Education, Uppsala University, Box 2109, SE-750 02 Uppsala, Sweden. Tel: +46 18 471 16 52; Fax: +46 18 471 16 51.
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Collected Works - General (020) -- Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Change Strategies; *Educational Change; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Governance; *Social Integration
IDENTIFIERS	Australia; Finland; Germany; Greece; Iceland; Portugal; Spain; Sweden; United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

This is the first report from the Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion (EGSIE) research project. The project focuses on relations between education governance on one side, and social integration and exclusion on the other. Educational reforms and changes in the governance of education are examined in 10 case studies in Australia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. These case studies are based on analysis of official texts and national statistics in combination with research reviews in each country. Recent changes in ways to govern education are described. Different ways have been found to restructure education in different national cases as well as different routes in dealing with social integration and exclusion. Similarities are noted in discourses on education governance in different contexts. International organizations also play a vital part in education policy discourses in national contexts. This report provides the initial discussion into developing conceptual and methodological strategies for the future project. (Author/RT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original document.

UPPSALA REPORTS
ON EDUCATION 34

JANUARY 1999

ED 462 740

Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S. Popkewitz (Eds.)

EDUCATION GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND EXCLUSION: NATIONAL CASES OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND RECENT REFORMS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
S. Lindblad
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
1

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY

EH031552

Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S. Popkewitz (Eds.)

EDUCATION GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND EXCLUSION: NATIONAL CASES OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND RECENT REFORMS

Department of Education
Uppsala University
Box 2109
SE-750 02 Uppsala
Sweden

Telephone +46 18 471 16 52
Telefax +46 18 471 16 51

Uppsala universitet
Repro Ekonomikum, Uppsala 1999

Abstract

Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S Popkewitz (Eds): Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion: National Cases of Educational Systems and Recent Reforms. *Uppsala Reports on Education*

This is the first report from the EGSIE (Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion) research project, where relations between education governance on one side and social integration and exclusion on the other side are in focus. In this report we deal with educational reforms and changes in the governance of education in ten national cases:

Australia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK.

Our case studies are based on studies of official texts and national statistics in combination with research reviews in each country.

Recent changes in ways to govern education are described. We find here different ways to restructure education in different national cases as well as different routes in dealing with social integration and exclusion. But we also note similarities in e g the discourses on education governance in different contexts. And we also note that international organisations play a vital part in education policy discourses in national contexts. These reports provide the initial discussion into developing conceptual and methodological strategies for the future project

Keywords: Social integration, social exclusion, education reform, governance, comparative education, education policy.

Contents

INTRODUCTION 1

AUSTRALIA 21
James G. Ladwig, Thomas Griffiths, Jennifer Gore & Bob Lingard

FINLAND 42
Hannu Simola, Risto Rinne & Joel Kivirauma

GERMANY 65
Edwin Keiner

GREECE 87
Andreas M. Kazamias with the assistance of Yannis Roussakis

ICELAND 129
Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson & Sigurjón Mýrdal

PORTUGAL 143
António Nóvoa, Natália Alves & Rui Canário

SPAIN 171
Miguel A. Pereyra, Diego Sevillia & Pablo J. Castillo

SWEDEN 204
Sverker Lindblad & Lisbeth Lundahl

UNITED KINGDOM 223
Jenny Ozga & Martin Lawn

INTRODUCTION

In this report we present texts concerning the status of education reforms in different countries with a specific focus on education governance and social integration and exclusion of youth. These reports will be used as a starting point for joint analyses and comparative studies in the EGSIE project. EGSIE is an acronym for Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion. It is a research project with funds from the European Commission, Targeted Socio-Economic Research within the IVth framework.

The EGSIE project

Here we give a short presentation of the tasks put forward in the EGSIE project as well as its methodology and organisation. We begin with preliminary definitions of two important concepts:

Governance refers to the process of distribution and production of social (public) goods, including mechanisms of social inclusion/exclusion, through sets of institutions, networks, representations and actors, drawn from within but also beyond government.

Social inclusion/exclusion is defined in relation to participation in the production of social (public) goods and participation in the formation of meanings and the exercise of power.

Based on these definitions it seems reasonable to argue that there are links between governance as a concept on the one hand and on social exclusion-inclusion on the other hand. However, what these links are – and what they depend on in educational settings – is needed to be developed further by means of theoretical and empirical analyses. Here, comparative studies of education governance in different contexts are of importance.

Research Tasks

Going back to our proposal this research project has as its central proposition the argument that the many recent changes in education systems throughout Europe will have an impact on exclusion and social integration. We seek to understand the different responses of different nation states to changes flowing from the restructuring of the global economy and the rethinking of links between education and the economy. We suggest that it is important to study differences and similarities in the responses of education systems to shared problems in order to improve understanding of the limits and possibilities of education policy within the community, and so that lessons learned from recent changes may be more widely shared. It is our ambition to clarify relations between educational governance and social integration and exclusion in different contexts, to discuss such issues, and share our findings with those engaged in educational issues in our communities.

In broad terms two different and contradictory positions have been stated in policy debates as well as in research discourses considering "new ways of governing education" such as deregulation, marketization, parental choice, etc (see e g Boyd & Walberg, 1990; Carter & O'Neill, 1995; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Kallós & Lindblad, 1994; Miron, 1993; Popkewitz, 1996; Scribner & Layton, 1995):

> New ways to govern education are necessary in order to obtain a more fair, sensitive and efficient educational system which is necessary in order to get a more developed society that will be able to combat exclusion.

> New ways to govern education will lead to increased segregation and decreased equity and equality in education as well as in society and will increase the amount of social exclusion.

As far as we can see there is now some evidence in support of both positions. But this support is fragmentary in many ways - considering actual variations in governance systems and differences in outcomes as well as preconditions in different countries. Based on such considerations (see also e g Fowler, 1995) it is of vital importance to further develop concepts and theories and methods and include different countries in such studies.

Thus, it is an ambition in the EGSIE project to make thorough analyses of education governance in different national contexts and to make comparisons between different national cases. Such studies - aiming at clarification and uncovering multiple meanings of educational policies rather than producing technological directives for educational change - are assumed to be of considerable value for understanding and actions in and on educational systems.

Another aspect of the new governance of education is that it is not uncommon that such measures have an impact in terms of policy-making, by means of actors or by instruments or steering strategies. Based on these findings it is important to study and to analyse distinctions and relations between political decisions and ways of implementing them[1]. Otherwise strategies of implementation - in this case "governance" - might take the place of political decision-making and function as policy-making in practice and change the reason and purpose for education. Based on these considerations we put forward two main questions:

What characterises the new governance structures of educational systems in different European countries and what are the possible implications of this for social integration/exclusion?

What are the implications of different national or regional contexts for the meaning of restructuring measures and the consequences of

[1] We are here referring to discourses on relations between political decisions and their implementation by means of different - often rather ineffective - strategies. For a recent review, see Rothstein (1994).

these measures in these contexts in terms of social integration and exclusion?

The first question focuses on the relation between governance measures on the one hand and social integration/exclusion on the other. To focus on this relation is one way to grasp governance as politics - i.e. to study governance of education as a new way of making education policies "from behind" - as a way to define what is of value and to distribute such values. Putting forward the second question we ask: how does that kind of politics corresponds to different national educational traditions and purposes of education and to differences in preconditions for education and in other measures of social integration and exclusion?

To answer these questions we consider it important to deal with several national cases which will be analysed and compared, with the focus on their different education projects (for instance the comprehensive school and the progressivistic movement in Sweden) in combination with restructuring changes of education. It is our ambition to present and analyse different alternatives of steering education in Europe: their preconditions and implications in different contexts. Such answers will increase our collective understanding of educational systems in different European contexts. More precisely we will explore and illuminate relations between policy-making, steering and national contexts and their relations to social integration/exclusion by means of national case studies, comparative analyses, and research reviews of public discourses, experiences and evidence. Important here is an open and sensitive approach to capturing these issues in different countries and to understanding implications of current changes as something that might have an impact on relations between countries within the European community. To do so is of vital importance for a reflective - and pluralistic - understanding of discourses of educational reforms and innovation in Europe, which is the overarching ambition of our work.

The general thesis in this study is:

> The way an educational system in a society is governed has an impact on social integration/exclusion inside as well as outside education.

Today, there is some empirical evidence available supporting such a thesis. From studies of inner city secondary education where education markets are established, Sharon Gewirtz et al (1996) found that such markets were biased in terms of parents' social position and cultural resources. A similar pattern is indicated in Swedish inner-city schools. However, turning to more rural surroundings markets seems to have no impact - to a large extent explained by the fact that geographical distances matter in education.

We thus think that such changes in the governance of education have implications in terms of social and cultural differentiation and stratification not only inside schools but also in society at large, and in turn on social inclusion and exclusion in society. To focus on the relation between education governance measures and social exclusion/inclusion in society is a way to get a handle on governance changes as politics. Another way to put it is: how are educational politics in terms of social inclusion/exclusion forged "via the backdoor" through governance measures?

To the first thesis is added a second one:

> The relationships between steering and social integration/exclusion are dependent on contextual circumstances inside as well as outside educational systems.

Educational systems have social and political origins and functions. They are coloured by their context in many ways. From that point of view it can be stated that to understand education is to understand its context. This point is often underestimated when different systems are

compared or when outcomes of education at various levels in different countries are analysed. Measures from one system are often transferred from one context into an other, without considering context, in terms of preconditions or implications. This is a well-known finding from research on innovation in education. A common language of educational policies and other measures may create an illusion of similarities and cohesion between educational systems in different countries in Europe. Educational systems are used for different purposes and are part of different political strategies. This is clearly recognised when you make historical comparisons. But when you focus on an educational system at a given moment it is often forgotten.

Above we have put forward broad research tasks in order to capture relations between education governance and social integration and exclusion of youth. These tasks demand that we carry out analyses of concepts, categories and discourses that deal with such issues in different contexts.

Research approach and methodological considerations

In the long run, it is our ambition to obtain a comparative study based on distinct cases, where we compare similarities and differences of vital theoretical and practical interest. This can be done by means of two radically different approaches. The first is to start with a pre-determined set of methods and techniques that are assumed to capture the same kind of information concerning dimensions or aspects in focus. The second is to work step by step, identifying aspects of interest and ways of studying these aspects. Considering the differences between European countries and the fact that the phenomenon we have in focus is complicated and contextually dependent, we consider the first approach as somewhat improper - with risks of using premature categories and invalid instruments. Thus, we are in favour of an approach where we work step by step.

The first step:

The first step is to describe national cases of educational systems and their preconditions and outcomes in different countries. These descriptions will be based on studies of official texts and existing statistics plus research reviews from the countries included. In addition, we will outline some general characteristics of the educational systems in the participating countries - levels, selection mechanisms, drop-outs etc in combination with different indicators of economic, social and cultural inclusion/exclusion. Of special interest are categories used by authorities to analyse selections, school careers and drop-outs in relation to notions of equity and dispositions.

By this pre-comparative step we will provide descriptions from the different countries with a focus on education governance and social integration/exclusion. Here we will be able to present a first understanding about what is distinctive for each case and what are similar trends and patterns in the different cases. In addition, the descriptions obtained will be used for case-specific perspectives, assumptions, and categories. Furthermore, we will be more informed about interesting aspects and categories for further investigations.

The second step - joint studies:

As an outcome of the pre-comparative step we will present an agenda for joint or common investigations of the different cases. It is too early to give a detailed account of methods used. However, the following broad outline can be presented. We have chosen to concentrate on three features of the reforms that impact on the central concerns of the TSER Programme, namely:

First, the degree of autonomy for those professionals working in education and training. There are controversies about whether greater autonomy produces more effective reform, or whether greater prescription is more effective. There is controversy about whether or not to devolve more policy-making power to schools. It is claimed that the most decentralised systems are also the most

flexible, the quickest to adapt, and hence have the greatest propensity to develop new forms of social partnership, yet historically it has been centralised systems that have most effectively delivered policies in pursuit of equity and inclusiveness. Autonomy is therefore a key comparative concept in our proposed investigations.

Second, the growth of evaluation and mechanisms of accountability that provide a counterbalance to autonomy, allow for policy management and enable assessment of performance vis-à-vis a number of targets, including economic competitiveness, but rarely including indicators of social cohesion.

The third area is the definition and treatment of disadvantaged groups. How is disadvantage defined and measured? How have shifts in the relationship between gender and performance impacted on the direction of education policy? How widespread is the concern with underachievement among white male youth, and how is it being met? What impact does globalisation have on policies for the education of minority ethnic groups?

Based on such considerations, we will carry out joint studies in all the different countries:

Text analysis of documents and public discourses on governance of education. In focus in these analyses are the categories used for describing and understanding changes in governance plus the ways teachers and students and reasons for social inclusion/exclusion are constructed.

In-depth interviews with top education politicians and administrators concerning changes in the governance of education. The point is here to obtain their versions plus additional

information concerning recent changes and to get answers on questions raised in the text analysis.

In-depth interviews with head teachers and teachers concerning recent changes and implications of these changes for their work. In focus here will be their actions to prevent or to counteract recent changes. Interviews with teachers will deal with frame factors, student inclusion/exclusion and changes in classroom interaction..

Reanalyses of indicators of social inclusion/exclusion with a focus on social categories such as gender, social class, and ethnicity. Here, it has to be pointed out that such categories are in need of revision in relation to regional circumstances (this is obvious when we deal with theoretical constructs such as "social classes", but also when we consider different ethnic groups in different contexts).

Third step - comparative analysis and theorising:

The two earlier steps have provided us with descriptions of educational systems in their context with a specific focus. The third step is focused on comparisons of cases in certain aspects. As presented above, this study is based on the thesis that social inclusion/exclusion is dependent on governance of education and that context matters in this respect. In this third step we will compare the participating cases. Based on our findings we will develop and test hypotheses concerning relations between governance and social integration and exclusion of youth. According to our plan we will turn to adolescents and analyse their voyages and experiences. The important result is to achieve a more distinct and differentiated view of education - context - and governance.

Fourth step - informing discourses on education governance:

The last step will be to present results to those accountable for education governance in the different cases - to discuss the results and

their implications. After that we will turn to public discourses and to international organisations.

Organisation:

The EGSIE project is organised as a co-operation between researchers in nine countries:

Australia	Finland	Germany
Greece	Iceland	Portugal
Spain	Sweden	UK

The selection of countries was based on the ambition to cover differences in cultures and traditions in educational policies and strategies to "modernise" welfare and education. This will be commented upon more in detail below. Furthermore, we have made selections on the basis that we will have access to similarities as well. Differences and similarities within the Nordic countries can be used as examples here.

First comments on cases

This is the result of the first work package in the EGSIE project. We have the ambition to describe recent changes in education and education governance in the different countries that participate in the study. At this phase of our work we have used already existing information and research concerning our cases. The main task for the partners has been to inform about recent changes and their implementation as well as about categories and discourses in the different countries. By means of this work package it will be possible to identify operational concepts as well as procedures and questions for later interviews and text analyses. Furthermore, available information and system characteristics will be presented and discussed as well as categories in use in different countries and regulating mechanisms so far considered to be of importance in each revised system of education.

Welfare states in transition:

The cases can be considered in relation to their approaches to deal with current social and economic changes and inclusion/exclusion considering in relation to positions on the labour market. From a broad international perspective and with a focus on unemployment and social security Gösta Esping-Andersen (1996, p 10) presents an analysis of changing conditions and strategies. He states:

> Since the early 1970s, we can identify three distinct welfare state responses to economic and social change. Scandinavia followed until recently a strategy of welfare state employment expansion. The Anglo-Saxon countries, in particular North America, New Zealand, and Britain, have favoured a strategy of deregulating wages and the labour market, combined with a certain degree of welfare state erosion. And the continental European nations, like Germany, France and Italy, have induced labour supply reduction while basically maintaining existing social security standards. All three strategies were intimately related to the nature of their welfare states.

Esping-Andersen identifies three different routes. The Scandinavian route tries to maximise employment and gender equity. When the current decline in employment occurred the Scandinavian route relied on public sector service jobs. This strategy was successful considering the opportunities to combine "careers and fertility" and decreasing gender differences, and the absorption of unskilled workers. Negative was the result of gender segregation, where women to a much larger extent work in the public sector and men in the private sector, and consequences in terms of work absenteeism. (p 13).

The Neo-liberal route focus on marketization and deregulation. Here we find the United States, Britain and to a lesser degree Australia. The market plays an important role as a complement to the public safety net. Wages are very flexible with a growth of low-productive and low paid employment, which seem to dominate "among particularly vulnerable clienteles" (p 19).

The labour reduction route is mostly located in continental European welfare states, such as Germany and Italy. The recipe to decline in employment is to subsidise exit from the from the labour

market by means of early retirement and so on. This creates and emphasises distinctions between outsiders and insiders, where the insiders defend their privileges.

As far as we can see these different routes imply different conditions for education as well as social integration and exclusion. Using this as a basis we can situate the three Nordic countries in a context of a Scandinavian route. The UK and Australia we locate in a Neo-liberal route and Germany as an example of a labour reduction route. The countries from the Southern parts of Europe are a bit more tricky to categorise, though Spain and Portugal according to Esping-Andersen belong to the continental route. The location problem in general increases when we consider changes in routes over time. An example here are recent changes in Sweden, where the education system has been deregulated and marketized in accordance with the Neo-liberal route. For such reasons there is a need for further development of Esping-Andersen's categorisation.

Another problem of categorisation is based on variations within the cases. The German case with the integration of Eastern and Western Germany is an obvious example of this as well as differences between England and Scotland in the UK case. Historical as well as regional differences are vital for an understanding the premises and meaning of education and schooling.

Cases and categories:

In the different cases categories and concepts are presented in order to understand important issues. We will not deal with these aspects in detail. Instead we will present some notions based on readings and discussions of the national cases.

In order to understand the Australian case we need to know about its history as well as its geographical location. The history is related to the categorisation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students as well as the distinction and relation between government and non-government education. Gender as well as aboriginality seem to matter when one considers the distribution of students over government and

nongovernment education. The notion of "family structure" as a pseudonym for mother-only families seem to be of importance to understand how social integration and exclusion is understood. Australia is a huge nation with enormous distances which entails specific conditions for education.

The Finnish case is a one of a Scandinavian welfare state with its monolithic conception of comprehensive education. We find new ways to govern education by means of marketisation, centralised evaluation, and resource allocation. The focus on individualisation and the stress on students' individual responsibilities indicate new ways of governance that might be of vital importance to understanding social inclusion/exclusion. In the remarks of the Finnish case we find a tension between national and historical contexts and an EU integrating policy of education. Furthermore, is education part of the exclusion game? Can we define a changing "zero-line of education" which defines the minimum level of education necessary for social inclusion? A distinction between a first floor discourse and a basement discourse is presented, where the first floor deals with visions and rhetorical aspects of the discourse, while the basement discourse deals with markets and economy – where egoism and money matter.

In the German case we find a complex and differentiated educational system, especially when one considers the secondary school. We find an early differentiation of students which might be of importance for later social integration and exclusion. Of specific importance in this case is the German unification in 1990, which to some extent means that we have two different German cases when looking at attendance in school, unemployment and school finances. The East-West distinction seems still to matter in important aspects with potential implications for social integration and exclusion. Recent issues in the public discourse on school autonomy (linked to concepts such as deregulation, competition and school profile indicate changes related to new ways of governance of education, which does not seem to split in accordance with political parties.

In Greece different periods of modernisation of education are identified in relation to political changes. Relations between modernisation and democratisation are dealt with, where social inclusion is part of the democratisation of education. Such patterns are contrasted to patterns of hierarchisation and elitism in Greece traditions of education governance. In this case we find silences related to socially excluded religious and ethno-cultural minorities. This in turn is related to the emphasis on economic efficiency rather than social equity and justice. In the Greece case there is a distinction between State and Non-State sectors of schooling. The notion of commercially oriented schools preparing for competitive entrance examinations indicates spaces for private education to make inclusion to higher education possible in a system based on choice and competition.

Iceland became an independent nation after World War II and was at that time still a predominant rural country with fishing as the most important industry. Since then strong urbanisation has occurred – a process where education seems to have played an important role. Measures in education are now taken in order to counteract exclusion of rural areas in Icelandic society. International organisations played a part in the restructuring of the public sector – including education – in terms of deregulation and decentralisation. In education we find changes in terms of school-based curriculum, self-evaluation, accountability and contract management as a way of administrating schools. Looking at measures dealing with issues of social integration and exclusion we find categories of location (based on rural/urban distinctions), gender, origin (based on native/immigrant distinctions), economic class, and handicap. Looking e g at integration of disabled children notions of physical integration versus social integration are presented.

Moving on to Portugal, this case is analysed in terms of tensions between democratising rhetoric and modernisation discourses. The Salazar totalitarian regime ended in 1974. From then we find different reforms and projects directed toward increased equity and expansion

of educational opportunities – as well as increasing costs for education. In this process educational policies and economic policies grew closer, where economic policies had an increased impact on education policies. This meant that modernisation discourses in terms of autonomy, decentralisation, efficiency, stated in terms of a managerial logic, had an impact that was counteracting democratising tendencies and at the same time threatening the legitimacy of educational policies. Increased differentiation in basic education was achieved by means of e g alternative curricula for some students as part of "smooth exclusion strategies". Relations between school exclusion and social exclusion is considered of importance in the light of the Portuguese case.

The Spanish case is also related to social changes and the end of a dictatorship. Democratisation processes are related to processes of decentralisation and regionalisation as well as participation of parents and students on school boards. The complexities of such processes become apparent when considering centralisation tendencies in regions that have become autonomous. Expansion of education demands increases in spending which in turn makes it important to study the economic situation in education over different regions, levels and programmes. Distinctions between private and public education seem to be of vital importance in the Spanish case, when looking e g at the reproduction of social classes and patterns of exclusion. Restructuring of education is related in the Spanish case to deficiencies in terms of failure rates, drop-out frequencies etc. A recurrent problem concerns secondary education, its academic character and low value of vocational education among teachers and students. From that point of view it is not surprising that higher education in Spain has expanded drastically – almost every second young man and woman now enters higher education. To end: in the Spanish case problems of teacher training and education are highlighted in relation to educational reforms and the (e)quality of education.

The text concerning the Swedish case is constructed around the concept of the Swedish model of a welfare state and the deconstruction of this model, especially in the early 1990s. After a long period of political consensus concerning educational reforms, the Conservatives – which at that time had the political power over education – started to profile their way to restructure education by means of deregulation, school autonomy and school choice for parents and students. However, this line of thought was to some extent already developed by the Swedish Social Democrats, who had been working towards deregulation, decentralisation and other restructuring measures in education parallel to similar processes in other parts of the public sector. In Sweden we can note two different tendencies towards restructuring – marketisation as put forwards by the Conservatives, and user empowerment stressed by the Social Democrats. Financial cuts in the educational system seem to have increased social exclusion inside education. However, in the Swedish case it is questioned whether educational measures can decrease the extent of exclusion in society.

The UK – in this case England and Scotland - is often regarded as the avant-garde of new ways of education governance. The UK can be regarded as long having had highly decentralised and diverse educational system. Differences between England and Scotland in their ways of organising education as well as in the public trust in education are indicators of this diversification. Another distinct feature is the important distinction between private and public education. Considering this distinction, the neo-liberal policy of creating education (quasi)markets seems to be carried out on fertile ground. However, in the text of the UK case it is argued that these neo-liberal reforms are in reality a return "to an older past" and that the comprehensive and inclusive thoughts on comprehensive education and universalistic education rather can be understood as a parenthesis than a dominating idea in educational policy in England. Looking at categories of importance to capturing social exclusion, the fact that today numerous children and adolescents do not attend school

has to be mentioned as well as the fact that five million families are without wage earners. To us, the UK experiences seem to be of vital importance in order to understand the social meaning of education markets and social inclusion/exclusion.

Concluding remarks

Considering the cases presented in this report a few provisional remarks can be stated here:

First, the historical and social circumstances are of importance in understanding current tendencies in educational policy in the different cases. The rise and fall of dictatorships – as in Greece, Portugal and Spain – are part of the stories told, as well as the construction and deconstruction of welfare states and consensus policies as in Sweden and the UK. This pattern cautions us against using a language of progress – or reaction – when dealing with education policy. This seems to hold true when we deal with discourses of social inclusion/exclusion and education.

Second, there are different ways to deal with social inclusion/exclusion in different contexts. Categories used are such as Aboriginality or Torres Strait Islander origin or single-parent family status as in the Australian case. Other cases, such as Spain or the UK point towards school dropout and non-attendance as important categories, which in turn might hide other features in the inclusion/exclusion rules. To this we can add categories of social class, gender and ethnicity in most cases as well as practices to deal with the disabled. A recurrent phenomenon in texts from the cases is the split between academic and vocational education and how this split is assumed to be part of patterns of social inclusion/exclusion.

A third remark concerns the ambiguity and complexity of recent tendencies. The Portuguese reflection on the double discourses of democratisation and modernisation and the concurrent crises of

educational reform can be mentioned here. The Finnish notion of first floor and basement rhetoric seems to be of importance as well. Related to this are regional differences as in (East and West) Germany and Spain. Other issues here are tendencies of centralisation and decentralisation as in the UK and Sweden.

Fourth, in several cases, such as Scotland, Australia, Iceland and Finland we note the problem of education restructuring and geographical space. Large distances between schools might create (quasi) market failures, since few or no options are available for education consumers in sparsely inhabited areas.

There are distinct differences between the cases, e g when considering educational traditions and ways to govern education. Greece, the UK and Finland can be used as illustrations of this fifth remark. But there are similarities as well, for instance when such concepts as decentralisation, deregulation and distinctions between private and public education are presented. And we have also noted that international organisations, such as the OECD seem to play a vital part of the education policy discourse in different countries. Considering such changes there might be tendencies towards increased homogenisation of (discourses on) educational policies in the current cases. Thus, in order to capture what is happening with education governance in the different cases it seems to be necessary to consider the impact of transnational discourses in national and regional cases.

References

Altbach, P. G & Kelly, G.P 1986: *New approaches to comparative education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ball, S J & Bowe, R 1992: Subject departments and the implementation of National Curriculum Policy: an overview over the issues. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, vol. 24, No 2*, p 97-115.

Beare, H & Boyd, W L 1993: *Restructuring schools: An international perspective on the movement to transform the control and performance of schools*. London: Falmer.

Boyd, W L & Walberg, H 1990: *Choice in Education: Potential and Problems*. Berkeley: McCutchan.

Butler, J and J. Scott, eds. 1992: *Feminists Theorize the Political*.New York: Routledge.

Carter, D & O'Neill (Eds) 1995: *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementation*. London: Falmer.

Castles, F (Ed) 1989: *The comparative history of public policy*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Chubb, J E, & Moe, TM 1990: *Politics, Markets and America's Schools*. Washington: Brookings Institute.

Dale, R 1993: *Marketing the market and the polarization of schooling*. In Kallós & Lindblad, eds.

Daun, H 1993: *Omstrukturering av skolsystemen. Decentralisering, valfrihet och privatisering. En internationell översikt*. Stockholm: Skolverket.

Gewirtz, S. Ball, S.J. & Bowe, R. 1996: *Markets, Choice and Equity in Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1996). *Welfare states in transition: National adaptations in global economies*. London: Sage.

Fowler, F C 1995: The international arena: the global village. In Scribner & Layton (Eds).

Kallós, D & Lindblad, S, Eds 1994: New Policy Contexts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom. *Educational Reports, Umeå University, 42*.

Lawn, M 1994: *The end of the modern in teaching? Implications for professionalism and work*. In Kallós & Lindblad, eds.

Lindblad, S 1994: *Imposed professionalization*. Paper presented at the second comparative policy seminar. New policy contexts for education: Sweden and England. Centre for educational research. April 27-29 1995 at Kings College, London

Lindblad, S & Wallin, E 1983: *Från Förskola till Högskola i Olika Länder*. Lund: Studentlitteratur

Lundahl, L 1995: *Something borrowed and something new. The study of education policy: its scope and limits*. Paper presented at the second comparative policy seminar. New policy contexts for education: Sweden and England. Centre for educational research. April 27-29 1995 at Kings College, London

Meyer, J E & Baker, D P 1996: Forming America Educational Policy with International Data. Lessons from the Sociology of Education. *Sociology of Education, Extra Issue 1996*. p 123 -130.

Miron, G (1993b): Choice and the use of market forces in schooling. Swedish educational reforms for the 1990s. *Studies in Comparative and International Education, No 25*. Stockholm University.

Newmann, F. and Associates 1996: *Authentic Achievement*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Oakes, J., Gammoran, A. and Reba Page 1992 Curriculum differentiation: Opportunities, outcomes, and meanings. In P. W. Jackson (Ed) *Handbook Of Research On Curriculum*, Washington, DC: AERA, pp. 570-608.

Popkewitz, T 1996: *"Constructing the New Democratic Citizen: Pedagogical Discourses in the Reconstituting of the Participatory Subject"*, a paper given at the conference,

"Democracy, Citizenship and Education", The University of Turku, Finland - May 24-25, 1996. ,

Popkewitz, T 1993: *Changing Patterns of Power: Social Regulation and Teacher Education Reform*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Popkewitz, T 1996: Rethinking decentralization and the State/Civil Society Distinctions. The State as a Problematic of Governing. *Journal of Educational Policy, 11*, 27-51.

Rothstein, B 1994: *Vad bör staten göra? Om välfärdsstatens moraliska och politiska logik*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.

Schriewer, J & Holmes, B 1988: *Theories and methods in comparative education*. Frankfurt am Main. Peter Lang.

AUSTRALIA

Education in a post-penal, post-industrial, post-modern, soon-to-be post-colonial nation

James G. Ladwig, Thomas Griffiths, Jennifer Gore & Bob Lingard

General Introduction

Geographically, the Australian continent makes up one of the largest nation-states in the modern world, with the small population of 18.5 million being largely concentrated in coastal regions (particularly in the Southeast of the continent). Australia's historical, political, economic and cultural ties were definitively linked with the United Kingdom via its settlement (invasion) of the country in 1788, and these ties remained dominant until the second world war. Following the war, Australia increasingly looked to the United States for military and strategic ties, while the post-war 'economic boom' saw Australia's trading partners diversify beyond Britain, the United States and other EEC countries to include the Middle East and Asia. The indigenous Aboriginal people of Australia survived the country's colonisation and today account for around 1.75% of the total population (314,126). Torres Strait Islanders, and people identifying as both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, number a further 28,774 and 10,106 respectively.

Economic growth since the 1950s was achieved with migrant labour encouraged through government programs, producing the diverse, multi-cultural society of contemporary Australia. Today some 22% of the population were born overseas, whilst 14% speak a language other than English.

27

Since colonisation, the Australian economy has been based on the export of primary commodities, particularly wheat and wool destined for the 'mother country' and its colonies. Although agricultural production has declined as a percentage of exports from 45.2% in 1970 to 29.3% in 1989, commodities produced in the mining industries have grown to account for 28% of all exports in 1989. Thus while the export of services has also steadily increased from just 11.5% in 1960 to 20% of all exports in 1989, the national economy remains tied to the production and export of primary commodities in the 1990s. Manufacturing industries were gradually developed after Federation in 1901 with protection from the Federal and State governments, though these never accounted for more than around 20% of total exports. From the mid-seventies these protections have been hugely cut as the Australian economy has become more integrated into the global one.

Shifts in Australia's trading partners can be seen in the destination countries of these exports. In 1951, the UK alone received 32.7% of all exports; EEC countries a further 22.9%; the US 15%; Japan 6.3%; and Southeast Asia (excluding China) just 3.2%. By 1989, Japan had replaced the UK accounting for 27.3% of exports; followed by Southeast Asia, 21.8%; the EEC, 10.3%; the US, 10.1% and the UK, 3.5%. Contemporary Australia is thus a complex of cultural and political ties to the UK, strategic alliance with the United States, economic ties to the Asia Pacific region, and a multicultural domestic population, with an indigenous population demanding recognition of and reparations for past wrongs.

Domestically, the proportion of workers in production industries has fallen from 46% in 1966 to 28% in 1996, with a corresponding rise in the service industries. In 1995-96 the main employment sectors of the national economy were: wholesale and retail trade, 20.8%; manufacturing 13.4%; property and business services, 9.6%; health and community services, 9.1%; construction, 7.2%; education, 7.1%; transport and communications, 6.6%; agriculture, 5.1%; accommodation and restaurants, 4.6%; government administration and

defence, 4.6%; finance and insurance, 3.8%; mining, 1%; and others, 6.1%. Unemployment stands at 8.1% as of January 1998, and trade union membership in Australia has fallen to 31.1% of the work force in 1996 (compared with 45% just ten years earlier).

Australia is currently a constitutional monarchy (the Queen of England is still the official passive head of state) with a Westminster system of parliamentary democracy. The national or Federal parliament has two houses: a lower house of representatives with 148 elected members, each representing an electorate; and the upper house or senate with 76 senators, 12 from each of the country's six states and 2 from each of the two mainland territories. The Prime Minister is elected from the party or parties that hold a majority in the lower house, and forms a cabinet from members of either house. Federal terms of office cannot exceed three years. States and territories have their own elected governments, with elected local governments contained within them. There are six states (New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia) and two territories (the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory).

Australia emerged, particularly in the post-war period, as a modern welfare state with government control of health and education, power generation and supply, communications and banking. The provision of a universal public health scheme (Medicare) was not fully implemented until the early 1980s. In 1994 government expenditure on health accounted for 8.5% of Gross Domestic Product. State provision of subsidised public housing was also a feature of the welfare state. The central state as a co-ordinator of national economic activity, the creation of infrastructure, and investment was aided through tight regulation of the financial sector. In the late 1980s and early 1990s banking in Australia has been de-regulated, the currency floated, and the Commonwealth Bank, Australian National (shipping) Line, national telecommunications system (Telstra), national airline (Qantas) and some state electricity providers wholly or partially privatised.

The role of the state in Australia's history since white occupation, and particularly since Federation, can be seen in the creation of the modern welfare state and the institutions and bureaucracies to administer and support it. In many ways Australia's political culture has been fairly state-centric from the outset, a situation arising from the nature of the first British occupation and the small population spread across a huge landmass. It has been observed that Australia has a genius for bureaucracy.

General School Systems Introduction

Official constitutional responsibility for education is similar to the US in that the States have defacto authority over schooling (University funding has been controlled at the federal level since 1974). Section 51 of the Australian Constitution outlines the powers of the federal government, any powers not so listed remain 'residual powers' of the states. Education fits into this category with the States jealously guarding their control of schooling systems. It is the States that run the schools systems, employ the teachers and mandate curricula and testing. However, the Constitution basically gives the federal government specific control of educational provision for indigenous peoples and requires that it provide 'benefits to students', which leaves the Constitution open to narrow or broad readings. Within the Australian federation there is a high degree of so-called 'vertical fiscal imbalance', that is, the federal government has much greater revenue raising capacity than do the states. This situation, combined with Section 96 of the Constitution which allows the federal government to make grants to the states for any purposes it wishes, has ensured more federal involvement in schooling policy than a straight-forward reading of the Constitution might suggest. However, the Commonwealth still only provides about 11 % of the expenditure on government schools run by the state systems. Outside of the so-called specified powers, States have been granted authority. Traditionally, since pre-federation times, this has meant the States has controlled the administration of schooling and non-university tertiary institutions.

Free, compulsory and secular education has existed across the Australian States/colonies since about the middle of 1880. Public funding of 'private' schools has been a continuing historical struggle - with the current situation being that public funding does exist for private schools (about 25% of the federal funds are assigned to 'private' schooling - the largest portion of which goes to a separately administered Catholic system). The States and Territories also provide state aid to non-government schools.

Generally speaking, the school systems are organised around a simple primary/secondary divide - with minor variations of year levels and nomenclature from state to state. Figure 1, graphically lays out the structure of the primary/secondary school systems by State.

<table>
<tr><th>Level</th><th>New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Australian Capital Territory</th><th>South Australia, Northern Territory</th><th>Queensland, Western Australia</th></tr>
<tr><td>Year 12</td><td rowspan="6">SECONDARY</td><td rowspan="6">SECONDARY</td><td rowspan="6">SECONDARY</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 11</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 10</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 9</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 8</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 7</td><td rowspan="8">PRIMARY</td><td rowspan="8">PRIMARY</td><td rowspan="7">PRIMARY</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 6</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 5</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year 1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pre-Year 1</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Figure 1. The Structure of Primary and Secondary schooling in Australia

As this rough chart should make clear, in some senses the school 'system' in Australia is de-centralised, with variation between States/Territories. However, this pattern should not be taken at face value, and explicitly hides the fact that many States are highly centralised within the State (New South Wales is particularly known as a centralised model). All state systems were highly centralised until the 1980s when public sector reform pushed a new devolved model and while some state systems, such as NSW, have remained highly centralised, others have devolved to varying degrees and some have a more market-oriented philosophy (e g Victoria).

Within each State/Territory, the basic structure of (official) governance is quite similar, roughly established by the adaptation of Westminster parliamentary political structures, and imposing a division of authority over schooling. That is, each State typically has two governing bodies, one responsible for the delivery of curriculum, and the other responsible for the administrative establishment of schools (personnel, and budgeting). These administrative bodies are generally known as "Departments of School Education" and are headed by bureaucratic Directors-General. In addition to these bodies, most states have separate bodies that set curriculum guidelines and/or syllabus structures and/or curriculum outcomes statements and/or any State testing mechanisms. These curricular bodies are generally known as "boards" (Board of Studies, Board of Secondary Studies, etc). These Boards are also led, typically, by bureaucratic heads. Both Directors-General and Directors of Boards are typically appointed by the Ministers in the governments of the day (although some DGs have managed to keep positions when governments/parliaments shift). As these appointments should imply, ultimate authority over these two separate entities lies directly with the Minister responsible for school education (Ministers often have more than one portfolio, but school education is one of the larger positions and often a singular Ministerial role). Education and health together account for about half of the budgets of state governments.

Within most States, significant governmental and administrative power is exercised by centralised Teachers Unions which negotiate salaries and conditions with the relevant employers (Departments), often take public position on matters of educational/school reform, and can influence the implementation of any change related to teachers. Similar Unions exist for independent' teachers in the private secular and catholic schools, where they are relatively less strong. On the federal level, there are also two major national teachers Unions (government and non-government). These Unions often exercise significant power, particularly in relation to the national Labor party, since they now represent a major (if not THE major) constituent in the labour movement. Importantly, these Unions largely see their roles as industrial', working mainly in defence of so-called bread and butter' issues. Controversy exists within the Unions over the degree to which they should be involved in professional issues.

The size of the school systems in Australia is substantial, in OECD per capita terms, as demonstrated by Table 1.

From Table 1 a number of features of the Australia system should be evident (this chart is taken directly from official government reports). First, the distinction between government' and non-government' is what most people would consider a public/private split; but since a large portion of government funds go to so-called non-government' schools, they cannot readily be called private'. Also, the Catholic system regularly distinguishes itself from non-Catholic independent schools (many of which are historically linked to the Church of England and quite socially elite). Many Catholic systemic schools receive up to 90% of their running costs from the two tiers of government. These distinctions can be read as manifestation of a history marked by British Colonialism and a large 20th century (non-British) European immigration and by sectarian conflicts over state-aid.

Second, the explicit nomination of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students' should make evident the degree to which Australia's indigenous population plays a significant role in Australia's identity

(given the relatively small portion of the population). Issues of reconciliation with indigenous people have become centrally important in contemporary identity politics located in and around schooling.

Table 1. Key Features of Australian Schooling, 1994

	Government	Non-Government	Total
Schools	7,159	2,520	9,679
Students (full-time)	2,214,938	884,442	3,099,380
Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander students	73,379	10,032	83,411
Full-fee paying overseas students	1,197	7,555	8,752
Staff (in schools)	177,740	72,896	250,636
Teachers (in schools)	143,192	56,965	200,158
Expenditure (1993-94) A$	10,568	n.a.	n.a.
Apparent Retention rates (to Year 12)			
Males	65.1%	79.4%	69.6%
Females	76%	87.4%	79.9%
Persons	70.6%	83.3%	74.6%
Participation Rates			
16 year olds			80.0%
17 year olds			59.7%
Pupil-teacher ratios			
Primary	18.3	19.1	18.5
Secondary	12.4	12.9	12.6

Third, note that so-called full-fee paying overseas students' are the other category of students isolated in the counting. This is indicative of the relatively recent push (since the late 1980s) for Australia generally to become more economically connected with Asia (discussed more below) and the push within Australian educational systems to include foreign' students as fee paying.' The fee paying' distinction indicates the fact that Australian schools (and tertiary studies) have been largely cost-free to Australian citizens and permanent residents (from 1974 until the early 1990s).

Staff and teacher numbers, pupil-teacher ratios, apparent retention rates (% of year 7 students remaining until year 12), and participation rates (% of that age cohort), and expenditure figures all indicate that the horizontal expansion of Australian educational systems are within the boundaries of OECD countries. Expenditure figures and pupil-teacher ratios tend toward the lower end of OECD ranges (student-teacher ratios being quite similar to Sweden according to our figures)

The separation of males and females in the retention figures is indicative of strong national and state level foci on issues of sex/gender equity (with the two terms tending to be conflated). It should be noted that most government' secondary schools are co-educational (in terms of sex), but many single-sex secondary schools do exist in the non-government sector.

Finally, it should be noted that since 1989 there has been a concerted push amongst the State and Federal ministers of education to get more consistency in rough organisational structures and nomenclature (and curriculum - discussed below) across the country. The official reasoning for this included: the need to better cater for an ostensibly 'increasingly mobile' student population, efficiency questions to do with shared development of curricula in a time of expenditure constraint by governments, and arguments about the need for a national focus as part of the internationalisation of the Australian economy.

The information above is accurate as of early 1995 and, in organisational terms, is significantly different from that in 1989.

Brief Overview of Australian Educational Reform with Specific Reference to Questions of Social Inclusion and Social Exclusion

The Whitlam legacy (1973)

As just indicated, since a national agreement' between Ministers of Education from the federal government and all States and Territories in 1989, there has been a significant amount of educational policy

shifting (see here, Lingard and Porter, 1997). These currents, however, need to be seen in a somewhat broader context of an apparently massive change in the Telos of the Australian State writ large.

Significant dates/events in this brief history, should at a minimum be placed against the backdrop of the federal Labor government of then-prime minister Gough Whitlam (who was the Prime Minister of the government best known as the only government in recent times to have been dismissed by the Queen's Representative, the governor-general). Under the Whitlam governments, the concept of the Welfare state was pushed to its most socialistic (one might say socially responsible) and a significant push was undertaken in educational policy to assure the access to education for all Australians, and to improve the educational achievement of disadvantaged' students. This push was largely mobilised through the establishments of a central, Federal committee, 'The Schools Commission,' which was responsible for policy development (including budgetary policy) and program management. This Commission was formally established in December of 1973.

A full history of The Schools Commission is a complicated story (for more detail see Dudley and Vidovich, 1995), but the basic symbolism of The Schools Commission serves our purposes. That is to say that The Schools Commission was designed to be responsive to community interest groups and fairly representative (whilst also being a body filled by appointment), whose task it was to expand and make more equitable Australia's educational systems. One central program of the Schools Commission was known as the disadvantaged schools' program, a direct compensatory funding mechanism for schools with a large portion of students from identified disadvantaged' background. However, this program for disadvantaged students differed substantially from its US counterparts in that the focus of change was the whole school and money was granted to schools not to the students attending these schools. (Most other school funding comes via the State governments). This push in schooling coincided with a shift to

making all tertiary institutions federally funded centrally (and subsequently abolishing all fees).

The ideological terms of The Schools Commission charter will be well known to most educational scholars who focus on equity. That is, whilst there was huge debate within the bodies that established the terms of reference for the Whitlam government's schooling policies, ultimately the tasks of school systems were largely constrained to providing equal opportunity, on a free access basis, to those students who qualified. There was also considerable debate in and around the Commission and its policies concerning an outcomes definition of equality. The legacy of the Commission arguably continues beyond its fiscal powers in that it symbolically cemented the terms through which educational policy in Australian education has dealt with issues of social inclusion and social exclusion - terms, which remain in use to this day.

The end of the Schools Commission (1987/1988)

In something of an irony, although the Schools Commission had survived a number of changes in government (albeit with ever decreasing influence), it was the return of the Labor Government to power under then Prime-Minister Bob Hawke (who came into office in 1983, the beginning of what was to be a 13 year Labor controlled federal parliament) that brought the eventual close of The Schools Commission. There are a number of significant shifts that need to be kept in mind when considering this irony (Labour taking away what it started), each of which would require substantial analysis in its own right. For our purposes, we will simply list them.

One factor in the shift in educational policy was a straight out budget consideration (to the degree that a budget can be considered separately from obviously ideological concerns). That is, the demographics of Australia's educational expansion was essentially costing much more money than any government could put together. This is directly connected to the shift in Australia's economic policy in terms of it attempting to become less of a colonial economy, a turn

which effectively placed it in the midst of a growing capitalist economic region (Asia).

This later move, the economic shift, was clearly and obviously motivated by an acceptance by the Labour government (another irony) to adopt a floating currency and to open Australia's import/export markets to more free-trade' regulations, a process begun earlier by the Whitlam Labour government with its 25% cut in tariff protection. All of these economic shifts occurred in the Hawke government years (largely influenced by the then Treasurer and next Prime Minister, Paul Keating).

This economic ideology carried at least two direct consequences for educational policy. First, the government administrative authorities generally were adopting what has since become known as an economic rationalism to its own operations (Michael Pusey, 1991, offers good insight into this side of the restructuring of Australian government and its administration). At issue here is the direct adaptation of 'scientific efficiency' rationale in the development and implementation of policy initiatives, as well as the work structures of the bureaucracy.

At the same time, there were other forms of economic rationalism directly guiding the content of educational policy development. This can be seen as a manifestation of the common assumption that education is FOR the economy. In this case, there were multiple manifestations of this assumption - from policy rationale statements, close ties with OECD policy development, to funding for economically driven educational programs, to the push to make money from selling educational services on the international market (the interplay between racism and this last one should be obvious)(A good summary of this is in Margins, 1993).

In addition to these economic concerns, however, there was also a shift in the way Ministers related to their respective bureaucratic authority. Some commentators have termed this shift the 'ministerialisation' of educational policy production, whereby educational experts' have seen their voices as increasingly over-ridden

by party political politics. Some take this shift as a sign of anti-intellectualism, but others have noted that this shift is partly a result of specific disadvantaged' constituencies going directly to Ministers rather than dealing with the intermediate Schools Commission (where straight political pressures had relatively little effect) (See Dudley, and Vidovich). It can also be seen as part of the attempt to sharpen the focus of educational policy and gear it to the perceived needs of an internationalising Australian economy.

Another view of the shifts in educational policy has been presented by Lingard and his colleagues, wherein the Federal and State shifts (particularly in the later part of the 1980s and the early 1990s) in educational policy were seen as a form of 'corporate federalism'. This notion basically rests on the observation that while the fall of the Schools Commission meant no intermediate body officially drew up compromise and consensus driven educational policies, it wasn't as if specific forms of compromise and consensus development models were not employed in its stead. In this latter view, the development of policy procedures which directly incorporated the views of industry, specific group representatives and delegated representational powers were seen as a form of corporatism, something akin to a more capitalist form of the northern European corporatism (see Lingard, et al, 1993). This is probably most evident in the federal governments attempt to get more consistency between the states in curriculum - that is, in a (since failed) move to construct a national curriculum (see Lingard and Porter, 1997).

Part of the push for a national curriculum framework should be seen in the context of most State/ Territory systems becoming increasingly influenced by the school effectiveness movements and the push to decentralise matters of budget and personnel, whilst simultaneously centralising curriculum standards and testing. There were also ideological pressures to reduce expenditure and deficits, while at the same time the federal government had become more parsimonious in its grants to the states. Market metaphors largely justify (are used to justify) the decentralisation pushes, while

accountability issues are used to justify the curriculum centralisation moves.

The most recent federal election (1996) ended Labor's federal control, and saw the election of a conservative coalition government. The policy pushes of today should be as predictable in name as they are unpredictable in effect. That is, there is currently a massive move to develop national testing regimes on the basics' across the schooling years, that is, within particular definitions of literacy and numeracy. There also is a move to make tertiary institutions even more market driven (a policy started under Labour), and to have Universities in particular funded more through student fees. There is a move to bring market-driven models of school improvement (read US Charter School Models) into the state systems (the biggest shift in these terms occurred in Victoria under the Liberal Party (Jeff Kennett) government from 1992 - today), AND there is a move to make the funding distributed to states dependent on sufficient participation/ progress in the national testing pushes. Here the 'de-centralisation of responsibility/ centralisation of blame' rejoinder seems most appropo.

Outline of Specific Educational Sectors of Project Interest

Special Education

One of the first special schools for students with disabilities, in this case deaf students, was established in Sydney in 1860 by the 'Institution for the Deaf'. This was characteristic of the provision of special education up to the 1930s, with non-government charity organisations providing most services. State run special schools and classes increased in the 1940s and 1950s, evident in the enrolment figures for state special schools and classes (excluding gifted and talented), which increased from 2699 in 1946 to 17 629 in 1966 (cited in de Lemos, 1994, p. 14).

By 1972, the number of students enrolled full-time in special schools and classes was 33 027, with around 85% (27 696) in state run schools (see Karmel, 1973, p. 36). The 1970s saw the expansion of

access to and provision of state education for students with disabilities / special needs, and marked the beginnings of a trend towards the mainstream inclusion of students in regular schools.

This policy shift was linked to the 'Karmel Report' (Karmel, 1973) and the Whitlam Labour government. Karmel (1973) recommended that responsibility for special education be formally transferred from Health Authorities to State Education Departments, and expanded through Commonwealth funding grants for recurrent expenditure and additional grants (see Karmel, 1973, pp. 113-117). The Report led to the establishment of the Commonwealth Special Education Program in 1975, and indirectly brought increased enrolments, upgraded infrastructure and expanded specialist training for teachers in special education. The program grants provided special schools, special classes within regular schools, and grants to appoint additional specialist staff and / or train existing staff. Funds provided through the program rose from $38.5 million in 1976 to $61.4 million in 1992. In addition the Report of the House of Representative Select Committee on Specific Learning Difficulties in 1976 recommended that State legislation be amended to ensure that education departments in all states provided special education services with funding through recurrent grants (Difficulties, 1976).

All states and territories undertook reviews of their special education policies in the 1980s highlighting the rights of students and generally endorsing the policy of student integration into regular schools. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, this policy was extended into the concept of inclusive schooling, although de Lemos (1994) notes that despite this general shift, the idea of a "continuum of services to meet the varying degrees of need of students with disabilities continued, with some students' needs seen as best met through specialist schools.

This trend can be seen in the figures for 1992, in which 61 827 students with disabilities were enrolled in schools, with around 85% of these in government schools (52 290). 31 283 of the total were in regular classes; 14 300 in a special class / unit (within a regular

school); and 16 244 in special schools. Hence around 73% of all students were enrolled within a regular school.

Early Childhood Education / Day Care

Major forms of day childcare were developed in Australia between 1860 and 1890, including orphanages and industrial schools. The first "creches" were established in this period to provide temporary care for working mothers (see Mellor, 1990).

In the early 1900s Day Nurseries and Creches opened in Sydney and other major cities, beginning as charitable services to children of the poor. The period 1901-1945 brought a massive expansion in the provision of State run children's services. Australia's small population and the context of the First World War saw the provision of such services promoted as part of a broader strategy to ensure the safety of the nation (see Mellor, 1990).

Day Care centres not specifically targeting the children of the poorest classes emerged in the 1930s and 1940s. The provision of day care was a responsibility of the State rather than Federal government, though the Second World War saw the creation of Commonwealth funded 'wartime centres' in 1943 to provide day care services for children whose mothers were employed in wartime industries. A "Kindergarten of the Air" program was also established in 1942. Commonwealth funding for the wartime centres ended with the war, but a precedent had been set and public perceptions about child care for working mothers and its provision by central government changed. The period saw the establishment of free kindergartens and the limited extension of day-care, increasingly seen as a right rather than a question of charity.

State provided childcare and early childhood education increased after the war. The Federal Child Care Act of 1972 led directly to the expansion of Commonwealth funded childcare services under the Children's Services Program. It provided for a 20% increase in the number of places, a wage subsidy for qualified staff, an agreed staff / child ratio, and recurrent grants to subsidise fees for low income

families (see Mellor, 1990. P. 138). The period of the Whitlam government saw the provision of early childhood education expanded. The Whitlam government focused on the universal provision of childcare through a Children's Commission. The commission was replaced with an Office of Child Care by the new government in November 1975, shifting the focus to child care only for those most in need. State governments assumed full responsibility for pre-school in 1977, but Commonwealth support for child care places remained under the Children's Services Program.

Into the 1980s and 1990s a uniform system of early childhood education and care was still lacking. Funding was fragmented between State governments / bureaucracies for the pre-school component and the Federal government for the child care component. The expansion of early childhood education / childcare became linked with the leadership of the ACTU as an industrial issue in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This was a significant factor in the expansion of childcare places in the early period of the Hawke Labour government.

Commonwealth funded day care places increased by 60% when Hawke took office in 1983/84, continuing the generalised trend of increased funding for child care provision from the mid 1970s to mid 1990s. By 1995/96 some 250 000 childcare places were Commonwealth funded under the Services for Families with Children Program (formerly the Children's Services Program), compared with 46 000 places in 1983.

Thus the trend has been for a general increase in Commonwealth funding and provision of childcare since 1973, but this generalised expansion has increasingly moved away from free, state provided, non-profit childcare. Commercial and employer provided day care became a part of the mainstream provision of day care, and were incorporated into government programs (see Brennan, 1994). This shift is evident in the 1991 policy of Commonwealth provided subsidies for the users of private child care facilities, instituting a de facto voucher system. This inclusion of commercial and employer

provided day care accounted for large increases in Federal funding, more than doubling from 1991 to 1993.

In 1992 60% of the entire child care budget, or $223 million, was spent on fee relief, this being linked to child care centres' accreditation. Moves for a national accreditation system for childcare centres emerged in 1991 (see Wangmann, 1991). This was established in 1994 as the Quality Improvement and Accreditation System (QIAS). By 1996 all but 3 of Australia's 3900 long day care centres had registered to participate in the process, with government subsidies and fee relief being linked to their participation and eventual accreditation.

General Policy Issues of social inclusion and social exclusion

Questions of how to understand social inclusion and social exclusion are central to both policy and social theoretical issues in Australia. As should be clear, the now classical terms of inequality have been the basis for a great deal of Australia's educational policy initiatives -- with each getting its own local twist. For example, the concept of disadvantage' has included a number of different categories of concern within Australia, as follows:

1. **SES** - socio-economic-status, taken almost directly from the Blau-Duncan models of status attainment literature - used as a proxy in pseudo-neo-Marxist theory/policy/research;
2. **Gender** - used to mean sex-difference - given ample attention by a strong feminist and women's movement that remains as fragmented and complex as any other social movement, but which has achieved massive shifts relative to many other countries;
3. **Aboriginality** - understood in racial terms (including, but not limited to, the history of biologically determined notions of race);

4. **Ethnicity** - in policy terms identified by language spoken at home (NESB - non-English-speaking-background), but in common street use, the term ethnic' generally means anyone non-Anglo-Saxon/ non-English speaking;
5. **Geographic** location - here the distinctions are between remote/rural/urban. Recall that there is a HUGE amount of basically unusable and unpopulated land, and there remain many semi-isolated towns in rural agricultural centres. These areas have successfully argued that their geographic location is a form of disadvantage. Educational achievement reports would confirm this view - with cultural explanations being the most plausible view of the situation;
6. **Family structure** - this largely is a pseudonym for single-parent (mother only) families; and,
7. **Residential mobility** - many (extremely) wealthy agricultural families send their children to elite boarding schools - this category is an attempt to measure this phenomenon.

These terms are those still in use for determining eligibility for federal equity funding. However, with the minsterialisation of educational policy, a host of other forms of inclusion/ exclusion have already gained official note. For example, a growing issue of boys and masculinity and issues of sexuality and anti-homophobia, and the general category of youth,' are matters of official business, and have been of growing concern in most states and the federal government. It should also be noted that the questions of so-called special-education students are addressed in manners guided by an amalgamation of US and UK policy, and noted that the discourses of gifted and talented' and attention-deficit-disorder' have also been imported in sufficient quantity to gain policy recognition.

What is of interest in these matters is that while Australia was in many senses approaching a 'meritocratic' system. For example, up until the late 1980s students from disadvantaged background were improving relative attainment and achievement measures. Further,

questions of equity in policy terms have moved from accepting opportunity' as the standard to pushing for outcome' standards (as of 1994 this was official policy), the descriptive validity, the presumptions of advantaged/disadvantage and the very nature of these categorical definitions have come under public scrutiny. This scrutiny coincides with what (some) Australian feminists would see as a backlash and what any good Marxist would recognise as the increasingly strong hegemonic adaptation of individualism. And in the midst of what is an extremely large debate, there seems reason to believe that all sides have some basis for claiming truth. However, with the changes in educational governance, aside from obvious benchmarks (HUGE increases in unemployment among youth', e t c) there remains no clear socially recognised view on issues of social inclusion/ exclusion.

References

Brennan, Deborah 1994: *The Politics of Australian Child Care: From Philanthropy to Feminism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

de Lemos, M M. 1994: *Schooling for Students with Disabilities.* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Dudley, J. & Vidovich, L. 1995: *The Politics of Education: Commonwealth schools policy 1973-1995.* Melbourne: Australian Council for Education Research.

Difficulties, House of Representatives Select Committee on Specific Learning. 1976: *Learning Difficulties in Children and Adults: Report of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Specific Learning Difficulties.* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Karmel, Peter 1973: *Schools in Australia: Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission.* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Lingard, R, et al. 1993: *School Reform in Hard Times.* London: Falmer Press.

Lingard, R and Porter, P. 1997:

Marginson, S. 1993: *Education and Public Policy in Australia.* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Mellor, Elizabeth J. 1990: *Stepping Stones: The Development of Early Childhood Services in Australia.* Sydney: Hardcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Pusey, M. 1991: *Economic Rationalism in Canberra: a nation building state changes its mind.* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

46

Wangmann, June 1991: *Accreditation of Early Childhood Services in Australia.* Canberra: Department of Health, Housing & Community Services Child Care Division.

FINLAND

National Changes in Education and Education Governance

Hannu Simola, Risto Rinne & Joel Kivirauma

The following tentative analysis is based on texts that might be characterised as "state educational discourse". There are at least two basic points of view that frame our selection of documents. First, education is in Finland clearly a state-centred issue. Secondly, we see education policy as a social field where certain actors - the key-speakers so to speak - have more authority than others. Therefore, these documents include, on the one hand, the often anonymous and normative official texts: the national curricula, governmental committee reports, legislative and administrative texts on the comprehensive school. Also some memos and plans of the National Board of Education and Ministry of Education are included. On the other hand, we have included some publications that are clearly serious, authoritative verbal acts of experts who speak as such and who thereby form the official truth on schooling. This means to include official publications by the NBE and the ME and publications and public proposals by key-actors of the education policy field.

National Context

Finland is one of the most lately and rapidly (post)industrialized nations in Europe. The late process of industrialisation and only some decades later beginning strong growth of the service-sector meant an exceptionally profound rather sudden structural change in the whole society. It also meant that Finland directly after being an agrarian country turned out to be a service economy. The period of industrial

society was in this respect rather short and stumbling. The majority of fathers or at least grandfathers of the modern young generation were still farmers.

The modern Finnish welfare policy is also quite young compared with the other Nordic countries, for example. If we categorise the European welfare states (Esping-Andersen 1990; Kosonen 1992; 1995), they can be classified into four models: the liberal (e.g. U.K.), the corporative (e.g. Germany, France), the social-democratic (e.g. Sweden) and the peripheral (e.g. Greece, Ireland) models. Finland belongs clearly to the social-democratic Nordic model. Even though the history of the Finnish welfare state is quite a short one, the history of social reforms carried out by the state is much longer. The tradition of strong centralisation is a peculiarity of Finnish culture. It has its historical roots in the traditional position under the rule of the Swedish Crown (-1809) and the Russian Tsar (1809-1917). This relation between strong state and weak civil society has prevailed for centuries and followed also during the later nation- and state-building processes in independent Finland. It has left relatively limited space for any "free" civic society. From the 19th century onwards, civic movements and the state have evolved, working together towards common aims rather than as rivals in contradictory positions (Alapuro & Stenius 1987).

Social reforms were, and still are, carried out via centralised authority, planned by state authorities and clergy and controlled strictly through state legislation. And until now, this bureaucratic model has proved to work. Perhaps this "state-rationality" is deeply incorporated in the whole national mentality which is the basic reason why the welfare state is still seen, even in the era of economic depression in the '90s, as the legitimate representative of people and of the common good, while the state as an apparatus of power is often ignored.

The concept of corporatism (Rust & Blackmore 1990) seems fruitful in analysing the Finnish welfare state in the field of education. Governments recognise the value and political legitimacy of interest

groups, granting them a representational monopoly to rule their own fields. Corporatism in the welfare state is characterised by tendencies towards co-operation and stability rather than towards political competition, by relatively covert forms of decision making, and by the inclusion of certain and exclusion of certain other interest groups in the decision-making processes. Rust and Blackmore emphasise that in terms of education, professional groups in a corporate system not only work to gain sectional advantages but they also help to maintain the system's authority and legitimacy as a whole.

The historically deep economic recession of the early 1990s was in Finland even deeper than elsewhere in the world economy. Reasons for particular national problems were primarily the open monetary politics (the wild "casino economy") and the collapse of Soviet Union with the good trade-relations. Joining the EU (1995) seemed to change deeply some basic doctrines and realities in national policy and the economy. Deprivation and poverty level began to rise quickly. Figures of unemployment and long-term unemployment exploded (almost 20 per cent unemployment, of which 1/3 was long term in 1996).

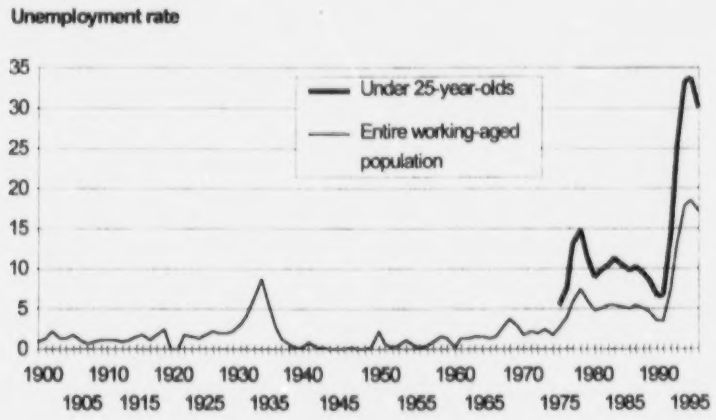


Figure 1. The unemployment rate of the entire working age population in Finland during the years 1900-1995 and the unemployment rate of 15-25-year-olds from 1975-1995 (Tiainen 1994; STV 1996).

Unemployment in this new level seems to have become a politically tolerated situation in Finland, which is a totally new situation in the

the EU. The late 1980's and early 1990's "blue-black" governments also led for the long time by the Right Wing (Holkeri government 1937-1991; Aho government 1991-1995) were followed by the "rainbow government" (Lipponen government 1995-). Though the policy was smoothed in the latest government by participation of the Greens and the Left in the cabinet, they have all marked a historic change and eased the state taking a back seat in the market-driven vehicle. The deep recession accompanied by the EU membership in 1990's with many of the bills of the welfare state were now falling due for payment. The government has begun to cut public spending in earnest and many are afraid of losing welfare security.

One core of the national consensus in egalitarian policy has been a strong emphasis on regional equity. A strong centralisation of economic development in only a few centres in addition to the Helsinki Metropolitan region also tends to problematise the obviousness of this aim. It seems that Finland is dividing into parts.

One very Finnish peculiarity in a globalising Europe is the very tiny number of different minority groups. The Swedish-speaking minority (5 per cent of about five million Finnish inhabitants) has as a former upper class been able to maintain its rights well. The other tiny minorities - the Sami (6500 people) and the Gypsies (6000 people) - have lost their ways of living only to receive certain basic rights in the 1980s. The immigration rate has been one of the lowest (0.5 per cent) in Western Europe and still is (1 per cent) although increasing partly due to the collapse of the Soviet Union. If you compare the figures with Sweden (7 per cent), for example, you may understand the difference. (Vartia & Ylä-Antila 1992; Tilastokeskus).

Educational System

The basic structure of the Finnish regular education system is rather monolithic and simple. The nine-year comprehensive school for all children aged 7-16 years is followed by post-compulsory level even in the senior secondary schools or vocational institutions. In tertiary education there are the universities and the new AMK-institutions

(polytechnics, fachhochschule) established in 1996. There is also a multiform and large adult education sector.

The coverage of the Finnish education system is technically excellent. The drop-out rates since the 1960s have been minimal, e.g. in 1995 only 77 pupils (Rinne & Kivirauma 1997, 9). There are very few who fail to complete comprehensive school (Jakku-Sihvonen & Lindström 1996, 23). In 1996 only 7 per cent of pupils did not immediately continue their studies after comprehensive school in senior secondary school (55 per cent of the cohort) nor in vocational and professional institutes (34 per cent). According to a survey (Jakku-Sihvonen & Lindström 1996) there were three reasons not to apply for further training: first, the youngsters had applied for studies not covered by the procedure; second, they had decided to take a year off before continuing in a certain education; and third, they did not want to study any more. The adult education system gathered participation of 46 per cent of the employed population in 1996 which was the highest rate in the OECD countries (Education at a Glance 1995, 158).

The Finnish comprehensive school has been quite successful in various comparative reviews (e.g. Saari & Linnakylä, 1993). By international comparison, Finnish pupils are top readers and rather good in other school subjects, too. Also the variance between pupils' performance level was relatively small. According to a nation-wide survey (Räty et al 1995), the parents' evaluation of the comprehensive school is fairly favourable. It is even more interesting that the tenets of a market-oriented school, the ideology of competition and giftedness were not generally supported. Instead, the parents were worried about inequality of educational opportunities. Parents from upper-level employee class were more apt to criticise the school system for overlooking the differences in giftedness while the working-class parents' attitudes towards the school system were more favourable in general. For foreign visitors as well the image of Finnish schools seems to be quite positive. A British evaluation group observed and interviewed head teachers, teachers and pupils in 50 comprehensive

schools for a study on the implementation of the new national curriculum in 1995. Although critical of the implementation of the reform, the peer group gave a sunny picture of Finnish schools: "Without exception the schools appeared as calm, secure places for pupils to work. Finnish pupils seemed generally well behaved; problems of order and discipline were few and confined to individuals or small groups. We saw no evidence of serious vandalism or graffiti in or around school buildings. There appeared to be concerned for others, and respect to property. Teachers' relationships with pupils generally demonstrated caring and mutual respect, and there was little sense of teachers needing to exercise strict discipline or authority." (Norris et al 1995, 39)

The most serious problem according to international reviews seems to be that the Finnish pupils enjoy their staying in school almost least among the pupils of many countries compared (Linnakylä 1995; Kannas 1995). For a lot of pupils this "un-enjoyment" also seems to preindicate problems in their future educational career. This is true especially in Finland, where most of the vocational and other qualifications are given to youngsters by the school institutions. This can be called the very Finnish way of "educationalisation of vocational skills", which means that other, more informal forms of learning -- like learning on the job and apparentship training – have been given very little emphasis in Finland after the WW 2. (Kivinen, Rinne & Ahola 1989). Only in the 1990s and hand in hand with economic depression and EU-policy emphases, has apprenticeship training also started slowly to increase, now comprising some thousands of students while vocational and professional institutes have 192 000 students (Oppilaitostilastot 1997:5). The aim of Ministry of Education is now to cover 20 per cent of admission to vocational and professional training by growing apparentship training (Hirvi 1996, 51).

Bringing all the children of the age cohort together in public schools has led to a need to create inside the comprehensive system various educational channels by which to classify and select the future

citizens to their future positions in society. Since the comprehensive school reform the special education has expanded systematically and rapidly. In 1995 the classroom-based special education included almost 20 000 pupils (3 per cent of the cohort) classified as deviant. The certificate of classroom-based special education is a strong certificate, a label of educational second-classness. In addition, comprehensive school reform in the 1970s initiated a massive surge of clinic-type special education which handles nearly 80 000 pupils per year. At present about 16 per cent of comprehensive school pupils are involved in special education as a whole. Massive resources in special education can be seen as a part of the Finnish welfare system where one of the main aims is to keep all the pupils in school at least for nine years. In that respect, it has also been successful.

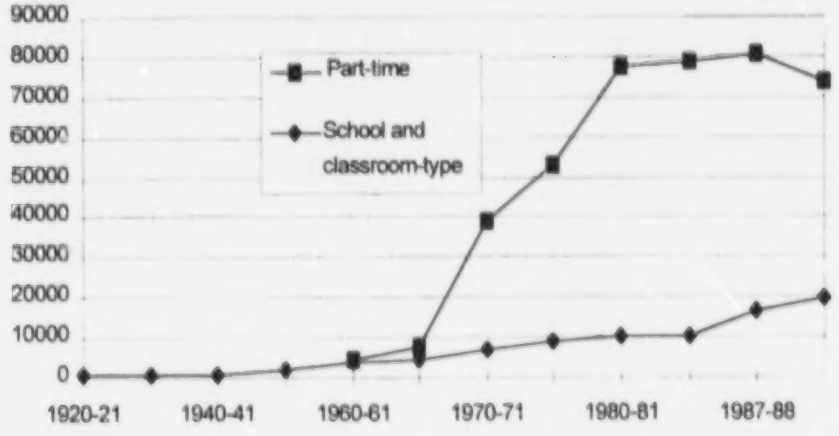


Figure 4. Students in special education according to type during the years 1920-1995. (Kivirauma 1989, 135; Bureau of Statistics KO 1989:16; Virtanen & Ratilainen 1996, 58)

The rapid expansion of the Finnish education system has also brought a growing gap between the older and younger age groups in passing by the post comprehensive education. School-leaving certificates from nine-year comprehensive level are no longer a very impressive currency when knocking as a newcomer on the gates of either citizenship or the labour market. Secondary education is becoming or

has already become a new "compulsory" education pushing aside those with merely comprehensive school-leaving certificate.

Even dropping out on only higher steps of the house of education can no longer guarantee you the same value as in the past. Devaluation of degrees makes passing only compulsory comprehensive school nothing but converting your education an indicator of social marginality. Roughly 20 per cent of population aged 20-34 lack post-compulsory education in Finland.

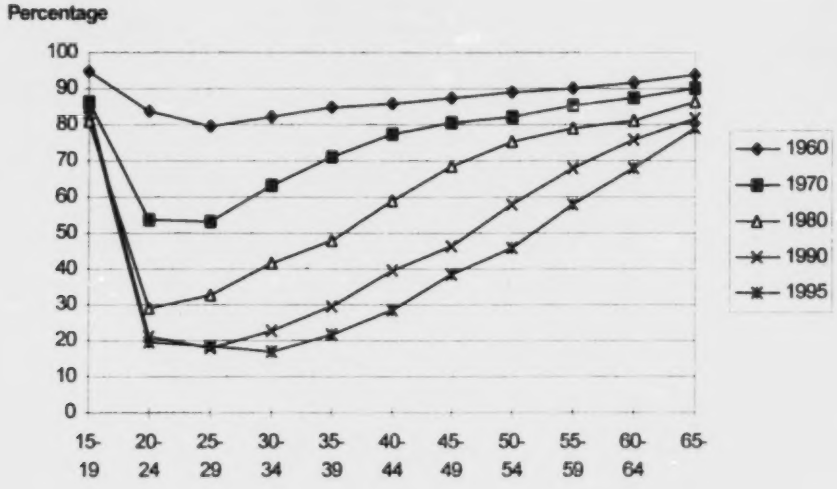


Figure 5. The percentage of the population over the age of 15 without a post-basic education[1] in by age (SVT VI C:103; SVT VI C:104; STV 1981; Bureau of Statistics KO 1997:1). [1]Secondary and university-level degrees.

The unemployment rates combined with education rates also tell us clearly the familiar but important story of the strong connection between education and employment. In 1992, 27 percent of those possessing only basic education degree were unemployed while respective figures with degrees of secondary education was 13 per cent and with higher education degree only 3 per cent (Hirvi 1996, 103).

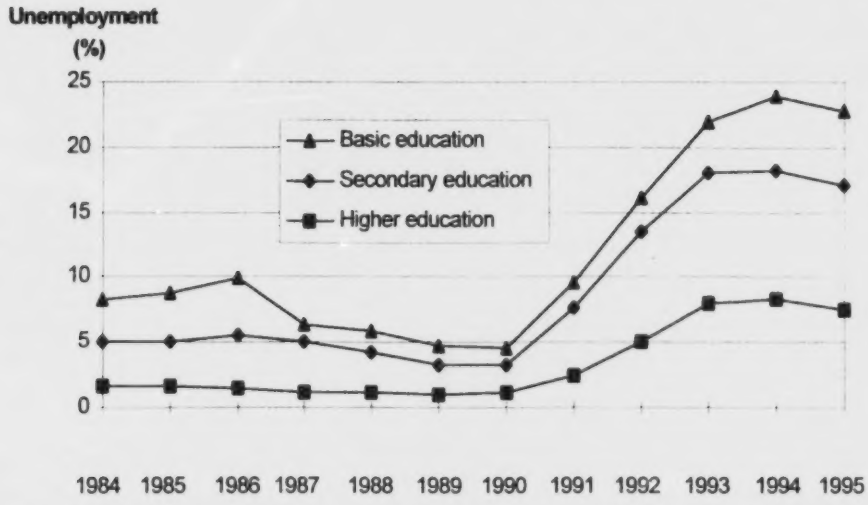


Figure 6. Level of unemployment according to level of education in the years 1984-1995. (Bureau of Statistics TY 1997:5)

Although the Finnish comprehensive school system has been rather monolithic in many ways. Almost no segregation has been allowed. Since 1984 streaming by ability has been abolished. All the pupils belonging to the same school district should go to the same school. If the parents wanted to choose their comprehensive school, they had to choose the residence. At the comprehensive school level, opportunities for educational distinction have been in all respects virtually limited to a few language and alternative schools (mainly in the Helsinki Metropolitan area) and the classes specialised in music education. But in 1990s the ideology of free school choice and school based curriculum, is changing the view essentially. New school laws are just on their way.

One of the most significant developments in the Finnish society over the past decades has been the increasing number of women in education as well as in the labour market. Throughout the 1980s the proportion of women of the labour force was steadily around 47 per cent which is very high by international comparison. Since 1990 women have completed more qualifications than men as well in senior secondary schools (60 per cent), universities (54 per cent) as vocational and professional institutions (54 per cent). Men continue to

predominate only in the very top of the hierarchy (postgraduate university level) but also in the lowest levels constituting the clear majority on the shortest and most practically oriented educational pathways, leaving them often with only basic schooling. (Kivinen & Rinne 1995, Statistics Finland 95:5, 29-34)

Even some researchers (e.g. Linnakylä 1995) have celebrated boasted about for rather equal opportunities for further studies after comprehensive school. However, statistical surveys show that "inheritance" and the accumulation of educational capital across generations is strongly evident. In the material describing the correlation between home background and educational career the odds ratio of a child of a managerial or professional white-collar employee reaching university is about eight times as high as that of the child from a working class background. In 1990, 21 per cent of the Swedish-speaking young people were studying at university, while figures for the Finnish-speaking and Sami-speaking youths of the same age were only 13 per cent and 8 per cent. (Kivinen & Rinne 1995:5, 34.)

Post-compulsory education, including universities, is free of charge and funded mostly by public money. The Finnish use of resources for education is high in international comparison: in 1992 expenditure in education was 13.9 per cent of all public expenditure (OECD mean 12 per cent) and in relation to GPD 7.9 per cent (OECD mean 6.1 per cent)(Hirvi 1996, 124). The economic recession was at least used to legitimise continuing cuts in education sector. The budget of the ministry of education has been cut by 13 per cent during the 1990s. Cuts in expenditure from 1990 to 1994 for comprehensive school were 15 per cent, for senior secondary schools 25 per cent and for vocational institutions 23 per cent. Enrolment increased, however, in senior secondary schools 22 per cent and in vocational institutions 28 per cent respectively. (Hirvi 1996, 65) Increasing class sizes and decreasing remedial teaching have been results, among others, of the cost-cutting programmes in the school level. Remedial teaching fell about 43 per cent between 1991 and 1994 (Jakku-Sihvonen &

Lindström 1996, 24). The decrease of special education between 1988-95 was only 4 percent, but that hides the 63 per cent collapse of school and class-room type special education dedicated to the socially maladjusted pupils who have now mainly been placed in other special education settings (Virtanen & Ratilainen 1996, 57; cf. Hirvi 1996, 68).

Educational Discourse and Governance

The changing coalitions in Finnish governance and governments have affected the field of education. This applies mostly to the stronger position of conservatives and their policy. The long period of co-operation in the field of educational policy on the government level between the Social Democrats and the Centre Party was left behind at the government-level in 1991, when Dr. Vilho Hirvi, representing the Conservative Party, became the head of National Board of Education (NBE). It was a sunset for the twenty-year tradition where a working class representative from the Social Democrat Party sat at the helm of National Board of Education, with the agrarian population representative from the Centre Party leading the Ministry of Education. As a confirmation of this historic change, Hirvi was elected in 1995 to the Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Education after the old 30-year period of Jaakko Numminen (Centre Party). Thus Hirvi had secured his permanent position as the key-note speaker of the field and as the leading officer of Finnish educational policy. His position is strongly strengthened by the fact that the Ministers of Education have also lately been appointed from the conservatives (Riitta Uosukainen; Olli-Pekka Heinonen).

Although Hirvi himself has spoken about "historic change in Finnish educational policy" -- now quality instead of quantity -- it is curious that at the discursive level there may be vast continuity. At least two intersecting features have been and still are typical to Finnish educational discourse. First, the Finnish educational discourse is very state centred. This means that the most authoritative speakers of the field have a still very strong state guarantee behind their

statements -- mainly through their political, administrative or academic positions. Secondly, there has been and still is an astonishingly strong consensus in the Finnish educational discourse based on the unquestioned belief in education as an agent for social equality and as a fair pathway of upward mobility. The thesis of human capital still holds sway: investments in schooling are absolutely believed to increase national and personal wealth. Expansion of education is believed to lead to the rise of a meritocracy where people's status would be decided rather by their ability and effort than by their birth or inherited privilege.

Public debates on education policy at least concerning the comprehensive school level have been quite rare in the 1990s. Only three major themes might be named (see Rinne & Vuorio-Lehti 1996). First, cuts in education were criticised; second, a long but not too hot debate focusing on dealing with gifted pupils in the school arouse; and third, a rather extensive discussion was based on a research report revealing the strong social inheritage still prevailing in Finnish educational system (Kivinen & Rinne 1995:5).

At least three main features characterise the latest public debates (see Rinne & Vuorio-Lehti 1996). First, they have been very abstract and, at least partly due to this, "non-political" in a sense that traditional political divisions seem to work no more. Secondly, there is still no conflict but undivided consensus regarding equality as one of the main goals of education policy. No authoritarian speaker dares openly to defend pursuits to increase inequality in the educational system. Equality has been a standing theme and value both in government policy documents and texts of the key-note speakers of the field. Thirdly, there is a wear paradox: even the deep economic recession has not eroded the belief in education, at least among the decision-makers and planners of educational policy. They envisage two-thirds of the age group attaining a higher education degree which would enable the country to compete with Japan and the US as one of the most highly educated countries of "universal higher education" in

the world. (Committee Report 1990; Government ... 1990; cf. Hirvi 1996)

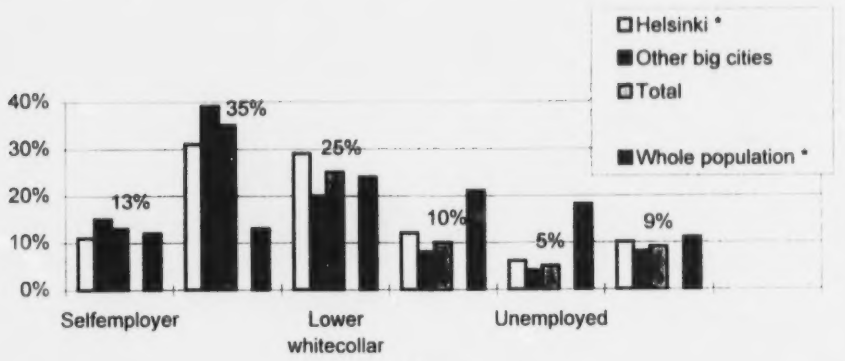
In 1991 the government issued the new development plan for educational policy for the years 1991-96. The slogan rhetoric was changed, now being "quality, flexibility, internationalisation, life-long learning, individuality, efficiency and accountability". The next plan for the years 1996-99 did not change the focus much. "Creating prerequisites for internationalisation, rising productivity, delegating decision-making power, structural development of the educational system, increasing flexibility and emphasising individuality and optionality" were the main means for reaching the goals. These interpretations of the central policy documents referred to above were made by Hirvi in his manifestation titled "Change of Pace in Education -- Finnish Educational Policy in the 1990s" (1996, 49-50). Though a more thorough discourse analysis remains to be done, one could easily find in the new visions a curious two-storiedness. On the first floor there is quite acceptable overview of the situation of the Finnish educational system in general. The discourse of these sunny saloons is filled by positive goals and pursuits flavoured with all the best wishes that modern educational rhetoric may treat, not least, e.g., thematics of equality. But in the basement there is a quite distinctive "sub-discourse" dedicated to real-world governance and management. The vocabulary of this sub-discourse comes directly and openly from the business community. In this earthy basement Hirvi speaks for results and quality management, commitment to innovations, efficiency and accountability, for enterpreneurship, customers, products and result units, for purchase services, vouchers, commodification (of education as a public good to a private good), internal and external marketisation etc. This sub-discourse is totally "economised".

It is fair to state that since the establishment of the comprehensive school system in the 1970s governance has been very centralised up to the mid '80s when a slight decentralisation process began to take place. Only during the '90s decentralisation of steering policy was

realised. In the '80s concepts of administrative and norm steering were replaced by goal steering but the full blooming of the more developed variants such as steering by results/output and most recently by quality and for ranking took place only after 1991. In the following we will first characterise some new principles of governance, then its new mechanisms and finally various pedagogical effects or trends of this new governance.

One could crystallise principles of new governance in Finland by saying that it entails decentralisation by resources, law and curriculum which were to be replaced by the centralised evaluation and establishment of educational (semi- or quasi-) market (cf. Lundgren 1991; 1993; Varmola 1996; Syrjäläinen 1997). The focus of steering changed from processes of schooling to results and outputs of it. It has been also called moving "from norm steering to information steering". (Hirvi 1996, 56, 87, 88) The new leadership of the NBE wished to change the character of their machinery, formally following the Swedish model, from an administrative, governmental and steering organisation to an expert service organisation and to an evaluative organisation. It was mooted to be renamed the "Development Centre of Education" [Opetuksen kehittämiskeskus]. The idea did not succeed, however, for party political reasons. Thus the new NBE still holds various administrative tasks. Also, its staff is still nearly completely made up of former educational civil servants accompanied by just a few researchers.

The main mechanisms of new governance might be seen as marketization, evaluation and resource allocation. The most radical practice already experimented with in many cities has been the parents' free school choice at the comprehensive level. Here we have also the first empirical evidence of the new school segregation (Hirvenoja 1998; Koivukoski 1997).



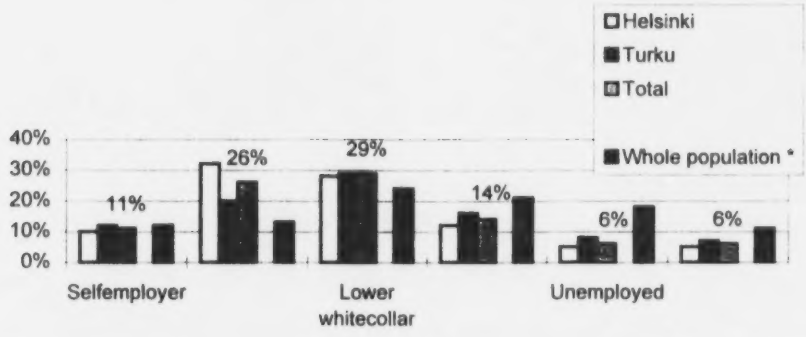
* Source:
Helsinki: Koivukoski 1997, liite 1.
Whole population in age of 30-59 in the whole country: Statistical Yearbook of Finland 1996, 95;
Unemployed on average in cities in question year 1995; Statistical Yearbook of Finland 1996, 54-70

Figure 7. Occupational status of parents whose child begins his/her 1. grade in another school than in the nearest one, related to the whole population (Hirvenoja 1998; see also Koivukoski 1997)

The tendency is clear. In the bigger cities, every tenth of primary school beginners and every fourth of those moving to the lower secondary school (seventh graders) chosen another school than the nearest one. From those first-graders choosing not their nearest school, 35 per cent were from upper-level employee (their percentage of the population being 13 per cent) while the respective figures of the working-class parents was 10 per cent (22 per cent of the population).

Among those making this choice on the lower secondary level, the figure of upper-level employees was 26 per cent and of working-class 14 per cent. In Helsinki, the gap between social classes was still clearly broader among school beginners (39 percent vs. 12 percent) and narrower among secondary beginners (32 per cent vs. 12 percent). (See figures 7 and 8). This evidence fits well with British findings by Stephen Ball et al (e.g. 1992) according to which in urban areas at least, the educational market is biased in terms of parents' social position and cultural resources. The school law in progress will open the parents' free choice for all the country though it will be effective

mainly in urban areas because in rural areas there are simply few alternatives. The selective effect was strengthened in many schools, especially in lower secondary level, by entrance examinations for the candidates from other school districts. This will also encourage further the schools to create selective "school profiles" propagated by the NBE.



Source: Whole population in age of 30-59 in the whole country. Statistical Yearbook of Finland 1996, 95.

Figure 8. Occupational status of parents whose child begins another lower secondary school (7. grade) than in the nearest one, related to the whole population (Hirvenoja 1998)

Beside marketisation, centralised evaluation will replace the former control system. This will cut down the Finnish 130-year continuum of more and more sophisticated and exact articulations of what was to be taught by the teacher (Simola 1995). The former techniques, such as text books confirmed by the NBE, teaching subject based timetables and class-books were also abolished in the early 1990s. All this control was to be replaced by evaluation. Following again the Swedish model, the NBE is preparing "national test bank" and standardising the middle mark level in every subject of teaching. Finland is also eagerly participating in comparative evaluation and indicator developing projects organised by the OECD and other international instances. In addition to centralised evaluation, a whole spectrum of school-based

"self-evaluation", "peer evaluation" and "evaluation systems" have been encouraged. It has been concluded that the main aim of schooling has turned from creation of the egalitarian individual citizen to the competing individual citizen (Koski & Nummenmaa 1995).

The third basic governance mechanism is resource steering. According to Hirvi, main funding in future will be still based on the number of pupils but funding for projects and "by results" will be emphasised (Hirvi 1996, 125). The local and institutional instances will have more and more free rein in their decisions in resource distribution. This has meant already up to now that, due to the cuts in education, costs have fallen more dramatically in rural areas than in other parts of the country (Jakku-Sihvonen & Lindström 1996, 40). Municipalities, both urban and rural, have found a new means for cutbacks in laying off teachers. At the moment 60 municipalities, both rich and poor, are planning or effecting teacher lay-offs for one to four weeks. According to the leading Finnish newspaper (Helsingin Sanomat in 30.1.1998) Finland is the only EU country using this kind of means in cutting costs. Thus the real preferences revealed at the municipal level seem to be in deep contradiction with the optimistic future visions opened by the national educational policy. Schools are also heavily encouraged from the primary level on to look actively for sponsoring from the business community.

There are also some obvious effects which the new governance may have in steering class-room teaching. The main call is for individualisation and emphasis on the responsibility of the individual pupil for his/her learning. The tools for that introduced by the national curriculum are "personal study plans and curricula" and optional subjects mainly in the lower secondary school. It is not clear how these ideas can be realised in ever larger class-sizes. There is, however, some evidence that these are used to free lower ability pupils from language studies and, in this way, lowering their standards, which will be documented in their graduation diplomas. The optional teaching subjects may now form a fifth part of the total classroom hours of the lower secondary pupil and vary from light hobbies to

extra courses in sciences. The option for comprehensive schools, both in primary and lower secondary level, is the possibility of replacing the year-class system with a system which would free the pupils to proceed at their own pace. If the "pupils-own-responsibility" of official discourse will replace the "ethos of caring", it means that it will be legitimate for a teacher to leave a pupil at risk to his/her own devices.

Three Final Remarks

In place of the concluding paragraph, we would like to pick up just three final remarks that popped up while we were scraping together this "draft of a draft to be redrafted". When comparing the cases in the EGSIE project, one possibility could be to make use of the classification of European welfare models. This means that each educational system and way of governance should be contextualised in wider and longer historical and socio-cultural frames. This would make us ask if there are liberal, corporative, social-democratic and peripherical welfare models, also including the field of educational politics and governance, and if so, are those models now on their way to become some kind of "European Union welfare model" and "EU educational policy model" and what could that in relation to the national states and their identity. One might also think that the historical problem of devaluation of educational degrees stays in the middle of the problem of integration and exclusion. These degrees give to their owners formal qualifications, status and social possibilities. In a meritocratic society, it is reasonable to ask if there could be defined a kind of "zero-line" of education which devides the minimum level of educational credentials necessary for social inclusion. Remaining below this point would mean a risk of being excluded. We might ask thus how and where this zero-line has been determined in different cases and models.

One of the basic difficulties of the EGSIE project, at least in the Finnish case, will undoubtedly be to find enough empirical evidence of fresh 1990's changes in social exclusion/integration for being

absolutely certain that the changes are effected by the implementation of new educational policy and new governance. This is because the radical changes in governance, policy, as well as the whole political climate and the way to act have just happened in a few recent years. The effects and consequences of these kind of changes come to be under even the clever researcher's nose only in the long run. The diversification of the social-democratic comprehensive school is a very controversial and strong move in recent Finnish educational policy and governance. Because it is a brand new phenomenon, it is very important to analyse it in its comparative and historical relations. This new trend of segregation is not, of course, clearly articulated in in policy documents but it is, anyhow, becoming a crucial point.

Our third note will refer to the notion of the hypothesis of "policy from behind" (EGSIE proposal, pp. 3 and 10). We want to remind the reader what we wrote about the "two-storied" character of the new conservative text in Hirvi s programmatic pamphlet about Finnish education policy in the 1990s. The "first floor discourse" was based on positive and abstract rhetoric on reform visions about creating faith in education, reforms and the future; while the "basement discourse" was cold-bloody market-driven economic discourse. The market discourse has an internal logic according to which the quality and power of the customer is equivalent with the currency validated in the field. Therefore -- using Bourdieuan vocabulary -- a customer without symbolic capital accepted in the field -- whether economic, educational, cultural or social -- does not exist for the market. Only the solvent customer does. Then we might also understand the curious two-storiedness of restructuration discourse and governance, too, as politics where governance of education has become policy making in itself. It makes also understandable why "first floor" or policy discourses in different countries may be different while the "basement" or governance discourse is more similar. Though the differing nation contexts, the different welfare state traditions, the different cultural histories make distinctive discourses acceptable and perhaps inevitable in public rhetoric, there is no need to differentiate

the governance discourse. Differing policy discourses may and perhaps have to be accompanied by rather similar governance discourses.

References

Alapuro, R. & Stenius, H. 1987: Kansanliikkeet loivat kansakunnan. (Civic Movements Created the Nation). In R. Alapuro, I. Liikanen, K. Smeds & H. Stenius (Ed.) *Kansa liikkeessä. Vaasa: Kirjayhtymä.*

Ball, S. J. & Bowe, R. (1992) Subject Departments and the Implementation of National Curriculum Policy: An Overview over the Issues. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, vol. 24, No 2*, p 97-115.

Committee Report 1990. Kehittyvä koulutus. Developing Education. *Komiteanmietintö 1990:49.* Opetusministeriö: Helsinki.

Education at a Glance. (1995) *OECD Indicators*. Paris.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three World of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge Polity Press.

Government White *Paper on Educational Policy for Parliament 1990.* Koulutuspoliittinen selonteko eduskunnalle 22. 5. 1990. Suomen koulutusjärjestelmä, koulutuksen taso ja kehityslinjat.

Hirvenoja, P. (1998) Koulun valinta perusopetuksessa: rakenne, syyt ja yhteydet perhetaustaan Suomen suurimmissa kaupungeissa 1990-luvulla. *(Choosing the School in the Comprehensive School: Structure, Reasons and Links to the Family Background in Finnish Bigger Cities During the 1990s).* A Masters Thesis 1998. University of Turku.

Hirvi, V. (1996) *Koulutuksen rytminvaihdos. 1990-luvun koulutuspolitiikka Suomessa.* (The Rhythm Change in Education. Finnish Education Policy in the 1990s). Helsinki: Otava.

Jakku-Sihvonen, R. & Lindström, A. (Ed.) (1996) *Is Equality a Reality in the Finnish Comprehenisve School?* Helsinki: National Board of Education.

Kannas, L. (Ed.) (1995) *Koululaisten kokema terveys, hyvinvointi ja kouluviihtyvyys: WHO-koululaistutkimus. (Health, Well-Being and Enjoyment of School among School Children).* Helsinki: National Board of Education.

Kivinen, O. & Rinne, R. (1995) *The Social Inheritance of Education. Equality of Educational Opportunity Among Young People in Finland.* Education 1995:5. Helsinki: Statistics Finland.

Kivinen, O., Rinne, R. & Ahola, S. (1989) *Koulutuksen rajat ja rakenteet. (The Limits and Structures of Education*). Helsinki: Hanki ja jää.

Kivirauma, J. (1989) *Erityisopetus ja suomalainen oppivelvollisuuskoulu vuosina 1921-1985. (Special education and the state school system 1921-1985).* Turun yliopiston julkaisuja C 74.

Koivukoski, M. (1997) *Valintoja liitutaululla. Tutkimus syistä, joiden perusteella vuoden 1997 koulutulokkaiden vanhemmat valitsivat koulun lapselleen. (Choises on the Chalkboard).* Helsingin kaupungin opetusviraston julkaisusarja B 15.

Koski, L. & Nummenmaa, A. R. (1995) Kilpailu kouludiskurssissa. (Competition in School Discourse). Kasvatus - *The Finnish Journal of Education, 26 (4),* 340-349.

Kosonen, P. (1987) *Hyvinvointivaltion hausteet ja pohjoismaiset mallit. (The Challanges of Welfare State and Nordic Models).* Tampere: Vastapaino.

Kosonen, P. (1992) *Johdanto. Teoksessa P. Kosonen (toim.) Euroopan integraatio, työmarkkinat ja hyvinvointivaltio. (European Integration, Labour Market and Welfare State).* Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 5-22.

Kosonen, P. 1995. *Eurooppalaiset hyvinvointivaltiot: yhdentymistä ja hajaantumista.* Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Linnakylä, P. (1995) *Lukutaidolla maailmankartalle: kansainvälinen lukutaitotutkimus Suomessa. (The IEA Study of Reading Literacy in Finland).* Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitos.

Lundgren, U. P. (1993) Education policymaking, decentralisation and evaluation. In M. Granheim, M. Kogan & U. P. Lundgren (Ed.), *Evaluation as Policymaking: Introducing Evaluation into a National Decentralised Educational System* (pp. 23-41). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Lundgren, U. P. (1991) *Between Education and Schooling: Outlines of a Diachronic Curriculum Theory.* Geelong, Australia: Deakin University.

Norris, N., Asplund, R., MacDonald, B., Schostak, J. & Zamorsky, B. (1996) *An Independent Evaluation of Comprehensive Curriculum Reform in Finland.* Helsinki: National Board of Education.

Oppilaitostilastot 1997. (1997) Tilastokeskus / *Statistics Finland. Koulutus 1997:5.*

Rinne, R. & Kivirauma, J. (1997) *Education and Marginalisation: The Changing Position of Poor Education as a Factor of Indigence in Finland.* Paper Presented at the ISA:RC 03 Conference. University of Joensuu, June 16-18, 1997.

Rinne, R. & Vuorio-Lehti, M. (1996) *Toivoton unelma? : koulutuksellista tasa-arvoa koskevat toiveet ja epäilyt peruskoulun synnystä 1990-luvulle. (A Hopeless Dream? The Hopes and Suspicions towards the Educatioonal Equity since the Establishment of the Comprehenisve School).* Helsinki: Opetushallitus.

Rust, V. D. & Blakemore, K. (1990) Educational Reform in Norway and in England: A Corporatist Interpretation. *Comparative Education Review, 34 (4),* 500-522.

Räty, H., Snellman, L., Mäntysaari-Hetekorpi, H. & Vornanen, A. (1995) Vanhempien tyytyväisyys peruskoulun toimintaan ja koulunuudistuksi koskevat asenteet. (Parents' Satisfaction with the Comprehensive School and Reactions to Current School Reforms.). Kasvatus - *The Finnish Journal of Education, 26 (3),* 250-260.

Rönkkö, P. (1998) *Tilastojen mukaan kaikki hyvin! (According to Statistics Everything Is All Right!).* Helsingin Sanomat, Mielipide. January 30, 1998.

Saari, H. & Linnakylä, P. (Ed.) (1993) *Oppiiko oppilas peruskoulussa: Peruskoulun arviointi 90-tutkimuksen tuloksia. (Does The Pupil Learn in the Finnish Comprehensive School? Results from Evaluation-90 Research).* Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitos.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

63

Simola, H. (1995) *Paljon vartijat. Suomalainen kansanopettaja valtiollisessa kouludiskurssissa 1860-luvulta 1990-luvulle. (The Guards of Plenty. The Finnish Schoolteacher in State Educational Discourse from the 1860s to the 1990s).* Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto. Opettajankoulutuslaitos. Tutkimuksia 137.

Syrjäläinen, E. (1997) *Arvioinnin avulla laatua kouluihin - markkinointihumua vai koulurealismia. (Quality Schools through Evaluation - Market Noise or School Realism?).* Tampere: Tampereen yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitos. Julkaisuja A 11/1997.

Varmola, T. (1996) Markkinasuuntautuneen koulutuksen aikakauteen? : esimerkkejä ja tulkintoja ammatillisesta aikuiskoulutuksesta. (Market Orientation: Entering the New Educational Era? : Instances and Interpretations of Vocational Adult Education). Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto. *Acta Universitatis Tamperensis. Ser. A, vol. 524.*

Vartia, P. & Ylä-Anttila, P. (1997) Kansallinen kasvuprojekti globaalitalouden paineessa. (National Growth in the Pressure of Global Economy). Teoksessa Suomen tulevaisuus - taloudesta arviointiin. Valtioneuvoston tulevaisuusselonteko eduskunnalle, osa II, oheisjulkaisu 2. *Valtioneuvoston kanslian julkaisusarja 1997/6,* s. 84-89.

Virtanen, P. & Ratilainen, A. K. (1996) Erityisopetuksen järjestäminen peruskoulussa ja lukiossa lukuvuonna 1994-1995. (Organizing Special Education in Comprehesive School and in High School 1994-1995). In H. Blom et al (Eds.) *Erityisopetuksen tila.* Helsinki: Opetushallitus, s. 53-64.

GERMANY

The German Case

Edwin Keiner

The Historical Context

From a historical point of view the 'process of systematisation' of the German school system began with the establishment of modern educational institutions at the beginning of the nineteenth century[1]. Highly diverse regulations for particular institutions and school types were characteristic for the school system in the first half of the 19th century. The school system, especially for school types above the primary level until the 1870s had similarities with the modern comprehensive school. After the middle of the nineteenth century, during the era of high industrialisation, population increase, urbanisation and high social mobility, the multifunctional, socially open character of the secondary school was replaced by a vertical differentiation of the school structure. Besides the traditional *Gymnasien* and *Progymnasien*, the newly articulated and hierarchic system of school types encompassed primary schools, upper primary and higher primary schools, with or without secondary transfer options, six-year *Realschulen* and nine-year *Oberrealschulen* without Latin, six-year *Realprogymnasien*, and nine-year *Realgymnasien* with extensive Latin (Appendix 1).

During the phase of system emergence, an occupational differentiation developed that ran parallel to the differentiation of school types and their educational qualifications. The structural relationship established within the hierarchy of qualifications and

occupational ranks can be analysed as a precondition of social reproduction. Characteristics are:

- a high degree of institutionalisation in all parts of the system
- a rigorous coupling of the various levels of the socio-occupational structure of the secondary and university-level-courses and qualifications
- an increasing differentiation and codification of internally homogeneous educational options, and
- an ever more complex rationalisation and legitimation of school types, and of the relationships among them, in educational theory.

Educational theory, especially during the Weimar Republic, also presented programmatic alternatives. E.g. the concept of *Einheitsschule* or other educational reform concepts attempted to avoid the rigid social selectivity of the traditional school system. Alternative concepts were often favoured by primary school teachers who expected that their social and professional status could be raised and a unified teacher profession comprising all teacher categories could be established. However, these concepts remained merely as concepts or were realised only as singular, often private projects.

During the National Socialist dictatorship, the education system played an important role in introducing and enforcing the Nazi ideology and, according to this ideology, in systematically excluding segments of the society from education. However, the basic hierarchical structure of the education system was not changed substantially.

---

[1] The paragraphs with regard to the 19th century are drawn from Müller 1989, pp. 18-24. For detailed data and informative analyses of the development of the education system in Germany cf. Müller & Zymek 1987.

After the Second World War[2] the Western Allies, especially the Americans, tried to establish a democratic, more comprehensive school structure. They failed. In spite of new democratically oriented curricula and minor modifications, the traditional hierarchical structure of the German education system was re-established. In eastern Germany, the former GDR, this structure was replaced by a comprehensive school system (Appendix 2 shows the school system in the GDR at the end of the 1980s).

The resistance in West Germany against reform seemed to change in the 1960s and 1970s, when educational reform movements affected the German education debates. Critics of the traditional, socially selective *Klassenschulsystem* and its reproductive effects were engaged in fighting for human rights, free access to education, and equal chances for all children. Initiatives and experiences from other European countries, especially from Sweden and the UK, led to the option - primarily supported by the Social Democrats - to introduce a comprehensive school system in Germany, as well. It was neither due to the federal structure of educational policy and administration in Germany, nor to the education law (especially with regard to the right of parents to choose a particular kind of secondary school) exclusively, that this reform failed[3].

On the one hand, the consequences of the education reform in Germany (as in other countries) were expansion and modernisation. The participation of all social strata in education expanded; the disadvantages for female students were reduced; the time span students spent within a more differentiated school system were increased. Parallel to school pedagogy, other education branches, e.g. social pedagogy, adult education, vocational education etc., grew.

---

[2] For a recent comparative analysis of the development of European school systems since the Second World War cf. Zymek (forthcoming, 1998). For the history of the school system in the GDR see Zymek 1997.

[3] For an informative analysis of an insider cf. Friedeburg (1994). Friedeburg is sociologist and had been an outstanding person and minister of education and cultural affairs in Hesse during the reform period

Finally, educational research and the peculiar German *Erziehungswissenschaft* expanded rapidly[4].

On the other hand, however, the selectivity of the transfer to the secondary school system as well as the social reproduction function of the education system did not change substantially[5].

Finally, and this is characteristic for the reorganised German school structure after the educational reform era, the comprehensive school could not replace the traditional three-fold school system. It was (and is) added as a fourth option[6]. The self-description of these schools as socially integrating schools rarely meets the reality, because the parents of pupils with an expected high achievement choose the traditional, selective tracks.

"The expansion of the school system has brought about an increasing number of higher qualified school leavers, but ... it has not been accompanied by a similar increase of adequate jobs. The policy for equal opportunities was necessarily to end in a great disappointment of the generation leaving the expanded institutions of secondary and higher education ever since the eighties." (Zymek 1998). Now the convertibility of 'cultural capital' seems to be decreasing rapidly. Nevertheless, more qualified graduates still have better opportunities to find employment, but, at the same time, these better opportunities minimise the opportunities of less qualified people. This relationship influences the parental choice of high grade school tracks. It has as a result that the *Hauptschule*, the kind of school with the lowest grade for leaving compulsory education, is

---

[4] Cf. Baumert & Roeder 1990, Schriewer & Keiner 1992, 1993; Keiner (1998, forthcoming)

[5] Cf. Keiner & Pereyra (1998, forthcoming). Regarding social inequality and reproduction cf. e.g. Blossfeld & Shavit (1993), Shavit & Blossfeld (Eds.) (1993), Leschinsky & Mayer (Eds.) (1990) Köhler (1992), Friedeburg (1997), Henz & Maas (1995). For a methodological note on data and categories used for reproduction analyses cf. Müller & Haun (1994) and Schimpl-Neimanns & Lüttinger (1993). Lundgreen, Kraul & Ditt (1988) present an excellent analysis about the effects of the education system on social reproduction in the course of the 19th century. Recent chances of functions of the education system from social reproduction to individualisation and life-style-cultivation are discussed by Lüders (1997).

[6] Cf. Leschinsky & Mayer (Eds.) 1990 about the effects of the comprehensive school system.

losing students or is attended mainly by students belonging to various underprivileged minorities, while the other pole, the universities, are overcrowded.

Description of the education system in the Federal Republic of Germany[7]

Education in Germany is governed, administrated and organised by the *Länder*. At the state level the 'Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany' integrates the education policy of the particular federal units.

The basic structure of the educational system in Germany is presented in Appendix 3 and the respective annotations.

Attendance at public sector primary and secondary schools is free of charge. The share of private schools, mainly denominational schools, is relatively low. However, a tendency to a rising 'privatisation' of the school system can be observed (Hurrelmann 1995a, 1995b).

As a rule, compulsory schooling for all children in Germany commences at the age of six. The start of school attendance depends on the adequate level of development of the child in favour of a medical examination, and an enrolment test may be carried out.

Children are usually required to attend for 12 years, the first nine of which must be full-time (the first 10 in Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen and North-Rhine/Westphalia), the last 3 of which may optionally be part-time unless the children stay on in formal full-time education once they have completed these 9 or 10 years.

---

[7] Basic information about the education system is provided by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany: The Education System in the Federal Republic of Germany. Information Dossier for the Education Information Network in the European Union. Bonn: KMK 1994 (a revised version will be published at the end of 1998)

Primary school

On reaching school age, pupils begin their education at a primary school (*Grundschule*) which consists of 4 grades (the first six grades in Berlin and Brandenburg).

Pupils at the primary school are normally taught in classes according to age. In the first two grades, most lessons are taught by one staff member, the class teacher. From grade three onwards the children normally keep their class teacher, but increasingly encounter subject teachers. In the first two grades of the primary school the assessment of each child takes the form of a report describing in detail a pupil's progress, strengths, and weaknesses in the different fields of learning. At the end of the second grade -sometimes later- the children get their first certificates with marks. As a rule, the progression to the next grade or the repeating of one grade depends on the pupil's level of performance appropriate to their age group. The primary school is intended to qualify for secondary schools, so the results of its attendance are decisive for the choice of school career.

Secondary school

Following the primary school the organisation of the secondary school system (grades 5 to 12/13) in the Länder is characterised by division into the various educational paths with their respective leaving certificates and qualifications of which different school types are responsible. The following types of school exist in the majority of the Länder:

Hauptschule
Realschule
Gymnasium
Gesamtschule

and in some Länder,

Mittelschule

Regelschule
Sekundarschule

Secondary education may be general, general and vocational, or mainly vocational education.

Secondary education is used to refer to grades 5 to 10 or grades 7 to 10 (lower secondary educations) and to all courses building directly on these grades (upper secondary education).

The *Hauptschule* comprises grades 5 to 9 and the *Realschule* normally covers grades 5 to 10. Both of these kinds of schools offer a general secondary education, the *Realschule* extending beyond that provided in the *Hauptschule*. At the end of the lower secondary level (*Hauptschulabschluß / Realschulabschluß*) exists the possibility of continuing one's education at the upper secondary level.

The *Gymnasium* normally covers grades 5 to 13 and it provides an intensified general secondary education. Pupils who are successful at the "Abitur" examination at the end of school receive a certificate entitling them to process to higher education (*allgemeine Hochschulreife*).

Apart from *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*, all Länder have comprehensive schools *(Gesamtschulen)* which exist in the majority of the Länder as a standard school type besides others; in some Länder they are run as a special kind of school, a special form combining different school types, or a pilot project.

Since the 1991/1992 school year some Länder have introduced new types of schools in which the courses are available at the *Hauptschule* and the *Realschule* level. Depending on the Land they are called *Mittelschule, Sekundarschule* or *Regelschule*.

Grades 5 and 6 at all secondary schools can also serve the purpose of orientation *(Orientierungsstufe)* in which the choice of schools is left open until the end of grade 6. For pupils who are unable to attend an ordinary school on account of a mental or physical disability, special schools (*Sonderschulen*) have been set up within the organisational framework of general and vocational education.

Alongside secondary schools providing a general education, most Länder maintain various types of vocational school beginning with the 10th grade:

Berufsschule
Berufsfachschule
Berufsaufbauschule
Fachoberschule
Berufliches Gymnasium/ Fachgymnasium
Fachschule

Vocational school[8]

Vocational schools in Germany are part of the so-called secondary stage the educational system provides for students attending school from the tenth to the thirteenth school year. Thus belonging to the upper level of the educational system vocational schools are divided into a compulsory and a voluntary sector.

The compulsory sector contains the *Berufsschule*, a part time school run by the state, but nevertheless co-ordinated with the work related apprenticeship in companies, which has a strong tradition in Germany. Although controlled and regulated by corporate institutions of trade and industry apprenticeships offering companies are obliged to let their apprentices go to school once or even twice a week. They are also obliged to train the apprentices on the base of apprenticeship schemes, which are developed and issued by the federal government. The schemes have to be worked out through a complex procedure of negotiation and co-ordination which representatives of companies and cooperations are involved in. That means that companies bear obligations and have to accept mechanisms of control in two directions: the one of the school system (*Berufsschule*), which is run by the government of the Länder and the one of apprenticeship, whose regulation is located at the level of the federal government. Young people who are not successful in getting an apprenticeship are obliged

to go to school until they are eighteen years old. They have to attend special courses which the *Berufsschule* has to set up for them.

The voluntary sector of the vocational schools offer full time vocational education in those fields which are not covered by apprenticeship schemes. The sector also includes school types which prepare students for the university and function as vocational oriented Gymnasium.

There are many problems resulting from this structure of the vocational school system. Teachers have to work with an extremely heterogeneous population of students from illiterate people, immigrants, school dropouts via fastidious classes of e.g. bank apprentices up to students, who are going to pass an economically or technically oriented *Abitur* exam. Conflicts result also from the company's obligation referring to the part time school (*Berufsschule*). A lot of companies do not accept the quality of this school. Via corporatism they attempt to influence educational policy wanting to cut back school time and to decrease the importance of public school sector.

Tertiary education

In 1991 there were a total of 315 state and state-recognised higher education institution (*Staatlich anerkannte Hochschulen*) spread throughout Germany and comprising the following types:

- universities, technical universities, comprehensive universities, institutions of higher education offering specific university-level courses and teacher training colleges;
- colleges of art and music;
- *Fachhochschulen* offering degree programmes in public administration.

---

[8] Many thanks to Klaus Harney who prepared this short description.

Institutions of higher education are bodies incorporated under public law. They have the right of self-administration within the framework of legal provisions and they are at the same time public institutions maintained by the Länder- so they are public law bodies and state institutions at the same time.

Germany (west) and Germany (east)

Since German unification in 1990 it has become a prime concern of education policy to bring together the eleven old and five new Länder. Beside some peculiarities the educational system of Germany (west) was transferred to Germany (east). However, it took several years after the unification until the public debates of education was perceived as an instrument to integrate and subordinate the real socialism of the former GDR, to the logic of the western capitalistic system and to contribute to bridging the gaps between the west and the east[9]. Education became a matter of public debate in a time of aggravating restrictions and circumstances continuing until now. Under these circumstances one could interpret in certain respects the former GDR and the process of reorganising the educational system as a laboratory, as an experimental field to test the unknown effects of the new logic of competition, deregulation and 'autonomy' within an education market[10].

Therefore, one has to take into account that there is not one case, but at least two German cases.

---

[9] Referring to a functionalistic perspective it is an open question whether the 'normalisation' of education, its importance for the construction of individual biographies and careers and its dissemination into nearly all branches of social life leads to the consequence that education tends to lose its reformative emphasis and its function for (rhethorically) organising, legitimising and accompanying processes of social transformation. A document about the continuity of normal, regular educational planning with much statistical information after the unification is Klemm; Böttcher & Weegen 1992.

[10] As one example: The public organized and funded educational research in Western Germany found its counterpart in Eastern Germany - parallel to the process of breaking down the research structures of the former GDR - as an increasingly private enterprise. (Thomas 1995)

I will point to some differences that are relevant to understand the difficulties of 'integration or exclusion' with respect to the current social and political situation. The data presented in the following are primarily taken from the official statistics.

Education, experience and value orientation

When comparing school attendance or participation in the labour market before the unification one can find significant differences between West Germany and East Germany. They indicate still remaining differences with regard to the social space in which young people grow up after compulsory education. Whereas in the FRG more than one third of the 16-25 age cohort attend educational institutions not closely linked to the labour market, the respective share amounts to only 19% in the GDR. Participation in the labour market shows an inverse picture.

Table 1. Attendance to school or to labour market for 16-25 age cohort (1989/1990) (Not counting vocational education).

	FRG	GDR
School/students	34%	19%
Labour Market/employed	40%	58%

Such differences could be a reason for different value orientations that were intensively investigated during the last few years. As an example: results of a survey show that west-elites prefer individual freedom and self-development as social values whereas east-elites plead for social fairness and financial security (Bürklin & Rebenstorf 1997). However, there are some indicators, that the 'value gap' will be closed soon (Meulemann 1995).

Demography

During the current school year 1997/98 more than 10.1 million students attend the general school system in Germany - a small

increase of 0.6 percent (compared with the former year). Whereas in Germany (west) one finds an increase of 1.7 %, the respective amount in Germany (east) is -3.0%. This decrease mainly is due to the decline in the birth rate in eastern Germany since the beginning of the 1990s. In combination with the fact that eastern Germany is not very densely populated, this decline causes problems with regard to the supply of schools. (Fickermann & Weishaupt 1997) The underprivileged educational situation of students from rural areas, almost abolished through the educational reform and expansion in the 1960s and 1970s (Henz & Maas 1995), seem to come back.

Unemployment

The official rate of unemployment in Germany (January 1998) amounts to 4,823,000 people, i.e. 12.6%. However, whereas in western Germany the rate is 10.5%, in the former GDR it is nearly twice the amount, i.e. 20.1%, with a high proportion of women. This share would be much higher if one were to take into account the statistical procedures of converting exclusion into inclusion. The 'hidden unemployment' is covered up through job-related training and educational programs and state funded work programs. The offer to enter the educational system as an unemployed person - relatively independent from age and biography - i.e. being included, means, at the same time, the exclusion from the labour market. The cost of the loose and flexible coupling between the education and the economic system goes to the individual - especially in the eastern part of Germany, where community, solidarity and collectivism had been the core values of the socialistic state.

School finance

Looking at the expenditure per student (1995) one can find a lower rate in the eastern Länder compared with the western Länder. Whereas in Germany (west) the expenditure per student for all types of schools amounts to an average of about 8,800 DM (it ranges from 11,100 DM in Hamburg to 8,000 in North-Rhine/Westfalia), the expenditure is in

Germany (east) only about 7,100 DM (ranging from 6,600 DM in Brandenburg to 7,700 DM in Thuringia). In Germany as a whole relatively small expenditures per student fall to primary education (6,600 DM) and to vocational education (3,900 DM). The expenditures for a student belonging to the upper secondary school level[11], however, amount to about 10,800 DM. A maximum of 19,900 DM falls to the share of special schools for disabled children. The main share of these variations is due to differences of the teacher's salary and of the duties of different teacher categories.

Nevertheless, it should be questioned why so little financing is available for primary education although it has a crucial function for social reproduction (Blossfeld & Shavit 1993; Leschinsky & Mayer 1990; Köhler 1992) and for the chance for individuals to transcend the 'zero-line of marginalization' (Rinne & Kivirauma 1997)[12].

New Education as a discursive problem

For the past four or five years, in the context of the increase in public expenditures, increasing unemployment and the crisis of the welfare state education have became a matter of debate in public and educational research. These debates - sometimes informed by empirical findings - not only comprise the school system but also non-school, outdoor education, e.g. social work, adult education, training programs, etc. Here I restrict the outline to the school.

Within the broad range of subjects covered by 'school improvement' the topic 'school autonomy' was of great importance (Daschner, Rolff & Stryck 1995; Schlömerkemper 1997; Fischer & Rolff 1997; Rittelmeyer 1997). Intensive debates about school autonomy (with some reflection on international discussions) in Germany are a very recent phenomenon. They started in 1993

---

[11] Gymnasien, integrative comprehensive schools, Fachschulen, Berufsfachschulen and Fachgymnasien.

[12] Often one can find statements regarding school effectiveness that give lack of money as a reason for the current weakness of the education system, e.g.: the educational expenditure relative to the GDP decreased from 5.5% in 1975 to 4.7% in 1995. For a counterstatement cf. Weiß 1997c; Mortimore 1997 or Wild 1997 and his slogan: 'Not more money for reform, but more reform for the money!'

§2

(Magostiu-Schweizerhof 1996) and are meanwhile related to other newly introduced topics such as 'regionalisation', 'deregulation', 'school profile', quality, effectivity, competition, evaluation etc[13].These debates reflect the struggle for the political power of defining the education system of the future between pedagogical, welfare-oriented positions on the one hand and neo-conservative and neo-liberal orientations in policy, economy and - in some respects - in educational administration on the other (Radtke 1997 and, for a critical reply, Maritzen 1997, cf. also Recum 1997; Nieke 1993 and Meyer 1996 regarding the USA)[14]. It is important to note that the discussion does not split according to political parties, but rather tends to cross the political borders. One motive for establishing school autonomy is related to purposes of rentability, saving public expenditures[15], and relieving administrative complexity[16]. The other, welfare-oriented motive aims at introducing and supporting new reform initiatives and movements, possibly in order to transform the disappointments of the effects of the recent reform era into new hopes for equal chances and opportunities, for realisation of constitutional rights, for social justice, and for inclusion rather than for selectivity

---

[13] As noted above with regard to school finance, primary level is relatively poorly financed. Considering the debates about new mechanism of governance and direction one can find a similar phenomenon. They primarily focus on secondary, especially the upper secondary level of school and higher levels (including adult education, social pedagogy, outdoor education etc.). Especially in the former GDR this focus seems to counterbalance the disappointments with the welfare state with the hopes of getting included into the labour market via inclusion into the 'education market'.

[14] 'Regionalisation' indicates similar ambivalencies and contradicting connotations. On the one hand the term is used as a concept of deregulation and de-centralization in order to improve efficiency, on the other hand, and in the context of education and social welfare, as an instrument to intensify the effects of neighbourhood and social commitment in order to avoid social exclusion.

[15] The difficulties of followers of the 'marketisation' to justify the efficiency and advantages of this concept empirically are analysed by Weiß 1993.

[16] 'Autonomy' in this sense seems to be a more rhethorical phrase, as educational administration e.g. tends to raise the student-teacher relationship, the teacher responsibilities, the local administration complexity etc., and thereby taking away the preconditions of being able to realize the rhethoric. Subsequently this process could lead to converting the expected pedagogical rationality into a bureaucratic one and into a question of distributing financial shortage. (cf. Böttcher; Weishaupt & Weiß 1997b, p.13)

and exclusion. If inclusion and exclusion becomes a subject of discussion, not the economists, but the representatives of the welfare-oriented motives warn of the social risks of school autonomy and deregulation, and of differentiation without integration. (From a perspective of social and welfare policy: Preuss-Lausitz 1997; from a teacher perspective: Böttcher 1995, p. 59; looking at constitutional rights: Avenarius 1995, p. 265, with regard to education policy and direction: Reccum 1997, p. 79, and to minorities: Friedeburg 1997).
After a long period of neglect recent publications, supported by the teachers union, the *Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft* (GEW), rediscover the economy of education. They try to balance the conflicting orientations, motives, values, and aims in order to assist education and economy in alleviating their manifold problems together. (Böttcher; Weishaupt & Weiß 1997a).

However, the chances for solving the problems of a 'new education' depend on the functions which educational systems have to fulfil for social coherence, as well as on the degrees of freedom that can be identified and used through pedagogical reform ideas.

One crucial point for the problem of exclusion and inclusion in the German case is the transition from primary to secondary education, as parental choice for the latter school defines the educational track which a student will follow very early. Another crucial point comes at the conclusion of the compulsory school. It is the decision to either stay within the school system or to be excluded into the labour market - step by step within the dual, intersecting system of education and economy. Finally, the secondary school level as a whole seems to become a crucial space for the process of exclusion and inclusion. "In the future secondary schools and post secondary institutions probably will be not only a place of learning to achieve employment and social status. The majority of the schools, even the vocational training schools, will probably become more and more a refuge for those who can't find employment or for those who have lost employment and who want to get at least the status of a student hoping for a new engagement." (Zymek 1998)

References

Avenarius, Hermann 1995: Verfassungsrechtliche Grenzen und Möglichkeiten schulischer Selbstverwaltung. In Daschner, Peter; Rolff, Hans-Günter & Stryck, Tom (Eds.): *Schulautonomie - Chancen und Grenzen. Impulse für die Schulentwicklung*. pp 253-274. Juventa: Weinheim & München.

Baumert, Jürgen & Roeder, Peter Martin 1990: Expansion und Wandel der Pädagogik. Zur Institutionalisierung einer Referenzdisziplin. In Alisch, Lutz-Michael, Baumert, Jürgen & Beck, Klaus (Hrsg.), *Professionswissen und Professionalisierung*. pp 79-128. Braunschweig: Braunschweiger Studien zur Erziehungs- und Sozialarbeitswissenschaft, Bd. 28.

Blossfeld, Hans-Peter & Shavit, Yossi 1993: Dauerhafte Ungleichheiten. Zur Veränderung des Einflusses der sozialen Herkunft auf die Bildungschancen in dreizehn industrialisierten Ländern. In *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 39/1993, No. 1*, pp 25-52.

Böttcher, Wolfgang 1995: Autonomie aus Lehrersicht. In Daschner, Peter; Rolff, Hans-Günter & Stryck, Tom (Eds.): *Schulautonomie - Chancen und Grenzen. Impulse für die Schulentwicklung*. Juventa: Weinheim & München, pp 55-82.

Böttcher, Wolfgang; Weishaupt, Horst & Weiß, Manfred (Eds.) 1997a: *Wege zu einer neuen Bildungsökonomie. Pädagogik und Ökonomie auf der Suche nach Ressourcen und Finanzierungskonzepten*. Juventa: Weinheim & München.

Böttcher, Wolfgang; Weishaupt, Horst & Weiß, Manfred 1997b: Bildung und Finanzkrise. In Böttcher, Weishaupt & Weiß (Eds.): *Wege zu einer neuen Bildungsökonomie. Pädagogik und Ökonomie auf der Suche nach Ressourcen und Finanzierungskonzepten*. Juventa: Weinheim & München, pp 9-17

Bürklin, Wilhelm & Rebenstorf, Hilke (Hrsg) 1997: *Eliten in Deutschland*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich

Daschner, Peter; Rolff, Hans-Günter & Stryck, Tom (Eds.) 1995: *Schulautonomie - Chancen und Grenzen. Impulse für die Schulentwicklung*. Juventa: Weinheim & München.

Fickermann, Detlef & Weihaupt, Horst: Optimierung von Schulstrukturen als Spareffekt. In Böttcher, Wolfgang; Weishaupt, Horst & Weiß, Manfred (Eds) 1997: *Wege zu einer neuen Bildungsökonomie. Pädagogik und Ökonomie auf der Suche nach Ressourcen und Finanzierungskonzepten*. Juventa: Weinheim & München, pp 216-228.

Fischer, Dietlind & Rolff, Hans-Günther: Autonomie 1997: Qualität von Schulen und staatliche Steuerung. Chancen und Risiken von Schulautonomie.. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 43/1997*, pp 537-549.

Friedeburg, Ludwig von 1997: Differenz und Integration im Bildungswesen der Moderne. *Zeitschrift für Sozialisationsforschung und Erziehungssoziologie 17/1997*, pp 42-55.

Friedeburg, Ludwig von 1994: Recht aauf Gleichheit - Recht auf Differenz. *Neue Sammlung 34/1994*, pp 561-578.

Henz, Ursula & Maas, Ineke 1995: Chancengleichheit durch Bildungsexpansion? Kölner *Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 47/1995*, pp 9-22.

Hurrelmann, Klaus 1995b: Tendenzen der Privatisierung der deutschen Schulsystems. Chnce oder Gefahr für Qualität und Chancengleichheit der Bildung. *Forum E 48/1995, No. 11/12*, pp 24-26.

Hurrelmann, Klaus 1995a: Wird Bildung wieder zum Privileg? *Neue deutsche Schule 47/1995, No.10*, pp 7-9.

Kazemzadeh, Foad & Steube, Wolfgang 1995: *Verbesserung der Validität und der internationalen Vergleichbarkeit von Bildungsausgaben-Indikatoren.HIS Kurzinformation A8/95*. Hannover.

Keiner, Edwin & Pereyra, Miguel 1998: *Comment on the Spanish translation of Leschinsky* & Mayer (Eds.) 1990, forthcoming.

Keiner, Edwin 1998: Erziehungswissenschaft 1947-1990. *Eine empirische und vergleichende Untersuchung zur kommunikativen Praxis einer Disziplin im Spiegel ihrer Zeitschriften*. Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, forthcoming)

Klemm, Klaus; Böttcher, Wolfgang & Weegen, Michael 1992: *Bildungsplanung in den neuen Bundeländern. Entwicklungstrends, Perspektiven und Vergleiche*. Juventa: Weinheim & München.

Köhler, Helmut 1992: *Bildungsbeteiligung und Sozialstruktur in der Bundesrepublik. Zu Stabilität und Wamdel der Ungleichheit von Bildungschancen*. Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung .

Leschinsky, Achim & Mayer, Karl Ulrich (Eds.) 1990: The Comprehensive School Experiment Revisited: Evidence from Western Europe. *Komparatistische Bibliothek. vol. 2*. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris: Peter Lang.

Lüders, Manfred 1997: Von Klassen und Schichten zu Lebensstilen und Milieus. Zur Bedeutugn der neueren Ungleichheitsforschung für die Bildungssoziologie. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 43 /1997*, pp 301-320.

Lundgreen, Peter, Kraul, Margret & Ditt, *Karl 1988: Bildungschancen und soziale Mobilität in der städtischen Gesellschaft des 19 Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen.

Magostiu-Schweizerhof, E. 1996: Zur Debatte um die Schulautonomie und die Folgen für die Chancengleichheit von Migrantenkindern. Beiträge zur erziehungswissenschaftlichen *Migrations- und Minderheitenforschung No. 4, Universität Frankfurt, Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaften*. Frankfurt am Main.

Maritzen, Norbert 1997: Schule zwischen Staat und Markt? Für kritische Genauigkeit beim Reden über Schulautonomie - eine Antwort auf Frank-Olaf Radtke. In *Die Deutsche Schule 89/1997*, pp 292-305.

Meulemann, Heiner 1995: Aufholtendenzen und Systemeffekte. Eine Übersicht über Wertunterschiede zwischen West- und Ostdeutschland. In *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 45/1995, No. 40/41*, pp 21-33.

Meyer, Heinz-Dieter 1996: Schulwahlfreiheit kontra Chancengleichheit. Amerikanische politische Kultur und die Selbstblockierung der amerikanischen Schulreform. In *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 42/1996*, pp 889-901.

Mortimore, Peter 1997: Auf der Suche nach neuen Resourcen. Die Forschung zur Wirksamkeit von Schule (School effectiveness). In Böttcher, Wolfgang; Weishaupt,

66

Horst & Weiß, Manfred (Eds.): *Wege zu einer neuen Bildungsökonomie. Pädagogik und Ökonomie auf der Suche nach Ressourcen und Finanzierungskonzepten*. Juventa: Weinheim & München, pp 171-192.

Müller, Detlef K. & Zymek, Bernd 1987: *Datenhandbuch zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, Bd. II: Höhere und mittlere Schulen, Teil 1: Sozialgeschichte und Statistik des Schulsystems in den Staaten des Deutschen Reiches, 1800-1945.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Müller, Detlef K. 1989: The process of systamtisation: the case of German secondary education. In Müller, Detlef K.; Ringer, Fritz & Simon, Brian (Eds.): *The rise of the modern educational system. Structural change and social reproduction.* Cambridge & Paris: Cambridge University Press & Editions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, pp 15-52.

Müller, Walter & Haun, Dietmar 1994: Bildungsungleichheit im sozialen Wandel. In *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 46/1994*, No.1, pp 1-42

Nieke, Wolfgang 1993: Chncengleichheit oder Leistungsprinzip? Wertkonflikte für pädagogisches Handeln am Beispiel der aktuellen öffentlichen Diskussion in den USA. *In Bildung und Erziehung 46/1993*, pp 329-344.

Preuss-Lausitz, Ulf 1997: Soziale Ungleichheit, Integration und Schulentwicklung. Zu den Qualitätskriterien bei der 'Entstaatlichung von Schule. In *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 43/1997*, pp 583-596.

Radtke, Frank-Olaf 1997: Schulautonomie und Sozialstaat. Wofür ist die Bildungspolitik (noch) verantwortlich?. In *Die Deutsche Schule 89/1997*, pp 278-290.

Recum, Hasso von 1997: Überlegungen zur Rekonstruktion bildungspolitischer Steuerung. In Böttcher, Wolfgang; Weishaupt, Horst & Weiß, Manfred (Eds.): *Wege zu einer neuen Bildungsökonomie. Pädagogik und Ökonomie auf der Suche nach Ressourcen und Finanzierungskonzepten*. Juventa: Weinheim & München, pp 72-83.

Rinne, Risto & Kivirauma, Joel 1997: *Education and Marginalisation. The Changing Position of Poor Education as a Factor in Indigence in Finland.* Draft version

Rittelmeyer, Christian 1997: Schulautonomie. Problemstellungen eines bildngspolitischen Zukunftsprojekts. In *Bildung und Erziehung 50/1997*, pp 125-135.

Schimpl-Neimanns, Bernhard & Lüttinger, Paul 1993: Die Entwicklung bildungsspezifischer Ungleichheit. Bildungsforschung mit Daten amtlicher Statistik. In *ZUMA-Nachrichten 17/1993, No. 32*, pp 76-115

Schlömerkemper, Jörg 1997: Die Schulentwicklung hat viele Ebenen! In *Die Deutsche Schule 89/1997*, pp 262-265.

Schriewer, Jürgen & Keiner, Edwin 1992: Communication Patterns and Intellectual Traditions in Educational Sciences: France and Germany. In *Comparative Education Review vol. 36, No 1*, pp 25-51.

Schriewer, Jürgen & Keiner, Edwin 1993: Kommunikationsnetze und Theoriegestalt: Zur Konstitution der Erziehungswissenschaft in Frankreich und Deutschland. In Schriewer, Jürgen, Keiner, Edwin & Charle, Christophe (Eds.): *Sozialer Raum und akademische Kulturen / A la recherche de l'espace universitaire européen. Studien zur europäischen Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte im 19. und 20.*

Jahrhundert / Etudes sur l'enseignement supérieur aux XIXe et XXe siècles. Frankfurt am Main u.a.: Lang, pp 277-341.

Shavit, Yossi & Blossfeld, Hans-Peter (Eds.)1993: *Persistent inequality. Changing educational attainment in thirteen countries*. Boulder Col.: Westview Press.

Thomas, Rudolf 1995: *Bildungsforschung in den neuen Bundesländer*. Paper presented at a conference in Frankfurt.

Weiß, Manfred 1993: Der Markt als Steuerungsinstrument im Schulwesens? In *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 39/1993*, pp 71-84.

Weiß, Manfred 1997c: Mehr Ressourcen = mehr Qualität? In Böttcher, Wolfgang; Weishaupt, Horst & Weiß, Manfred (Eds.): *Wege zu einer neuen Bildungsökonomie. Pädagogik und Ökonomie auf der Suche nach Ressourcen und Finanzierungskonzepten*. Juventa: Weinheim & München, pp 161-170.

Wild, Peter 1997: Die Probleme der Bildungsfinanzierung aus Ländersicht. In Böttcher, Wolfgang; Weishaupt, Horst & Weiß, Manfred (Eds.): *Wege zu einer neuen Bildungsökonomie. Pädagogik und Ökonomie auf der Suche nach Ressourcen und Finanzierungskonzepten*. Juventa: Weinheim & München, pp 41-60.

Zymek, Bernd 1997: Die Schulentwicklung in der DDR im Kontext einer Sozialgeschichte des deutschen Sychulsystems. Historisch vergleichende Analyse lokaler Schulangebotsstrukturen in Mecklenburg und Westfalen, 1900-1990. In Häder, S. & Tenorth, H.-E. (Eds.): *Bildungsgeschichte einer Diktatur*.

Zymek, Bernd 1998: Equality of Opportunity Policies and Social Change: The Expansion of the European School System Since the Secon World War. In Swing, Elisabeth Sherman; Orivel, Francois & Schriewer, Jürgen (Eds.): *Problems and Prospects in European Education*. Forthcoming.

88

Appendix 1

Systematisation: the case of German secondary education

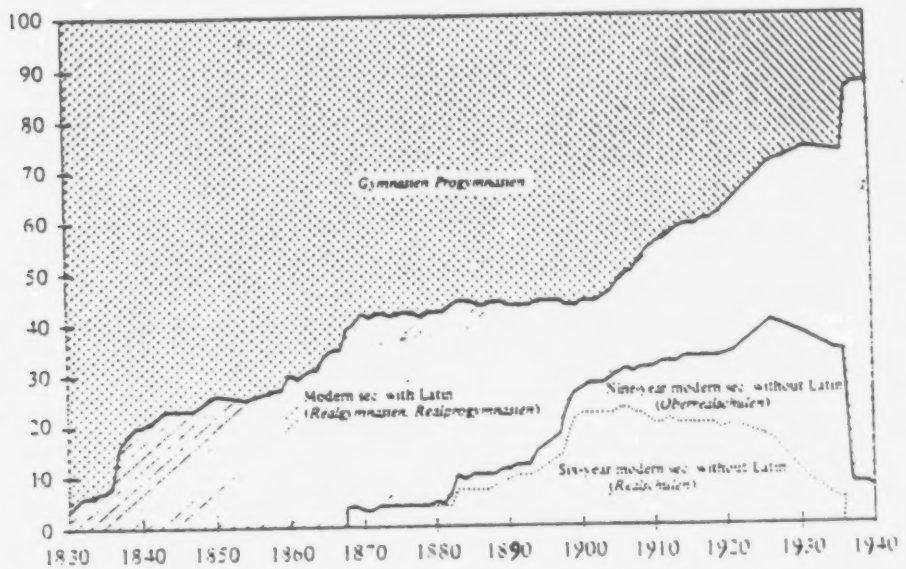
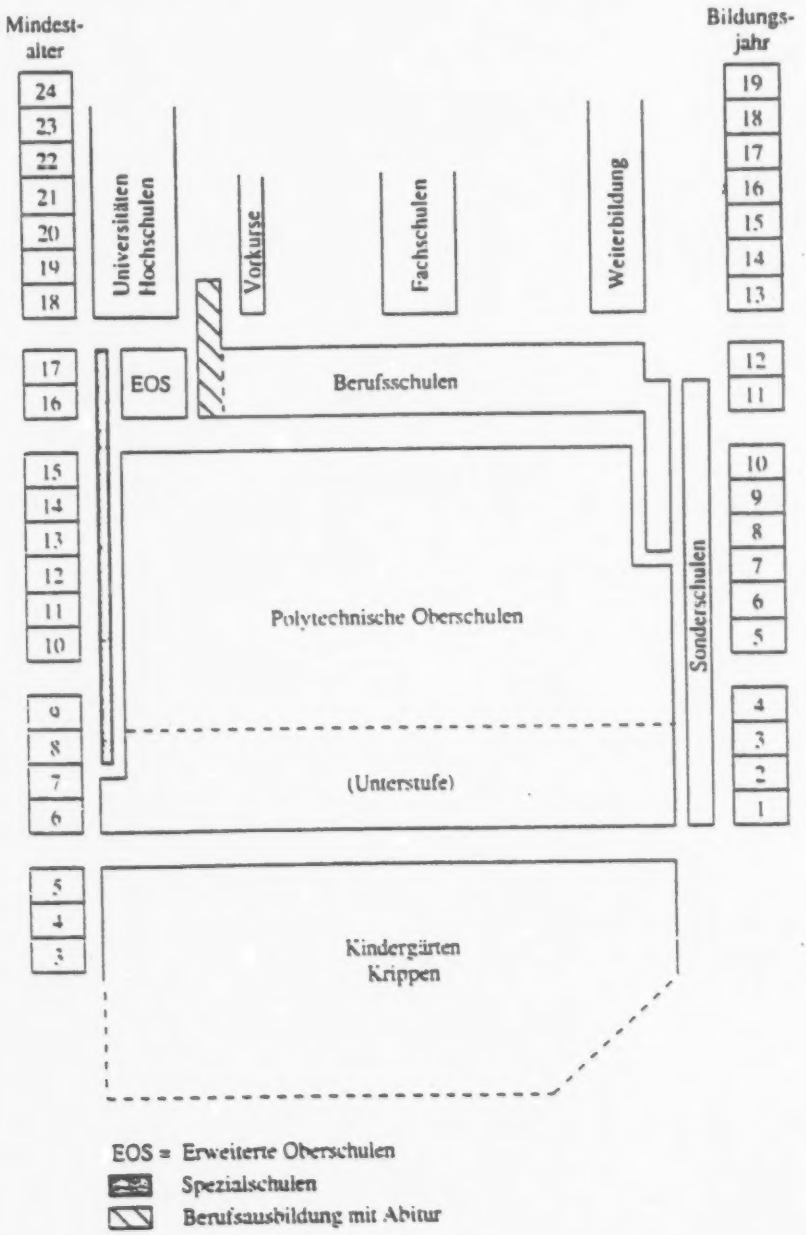


Figure 1.3. Prussian boys' secondary institutions, 1832–1941: the major types as percentages of all institutions (Detlef K. Müller, *Datenhandbuch zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte* (Göttingen, forthcoming))

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix 2

Abb. 1.2: Aufbau des Bildungssystems in der DDR Ende der 80er Jahre

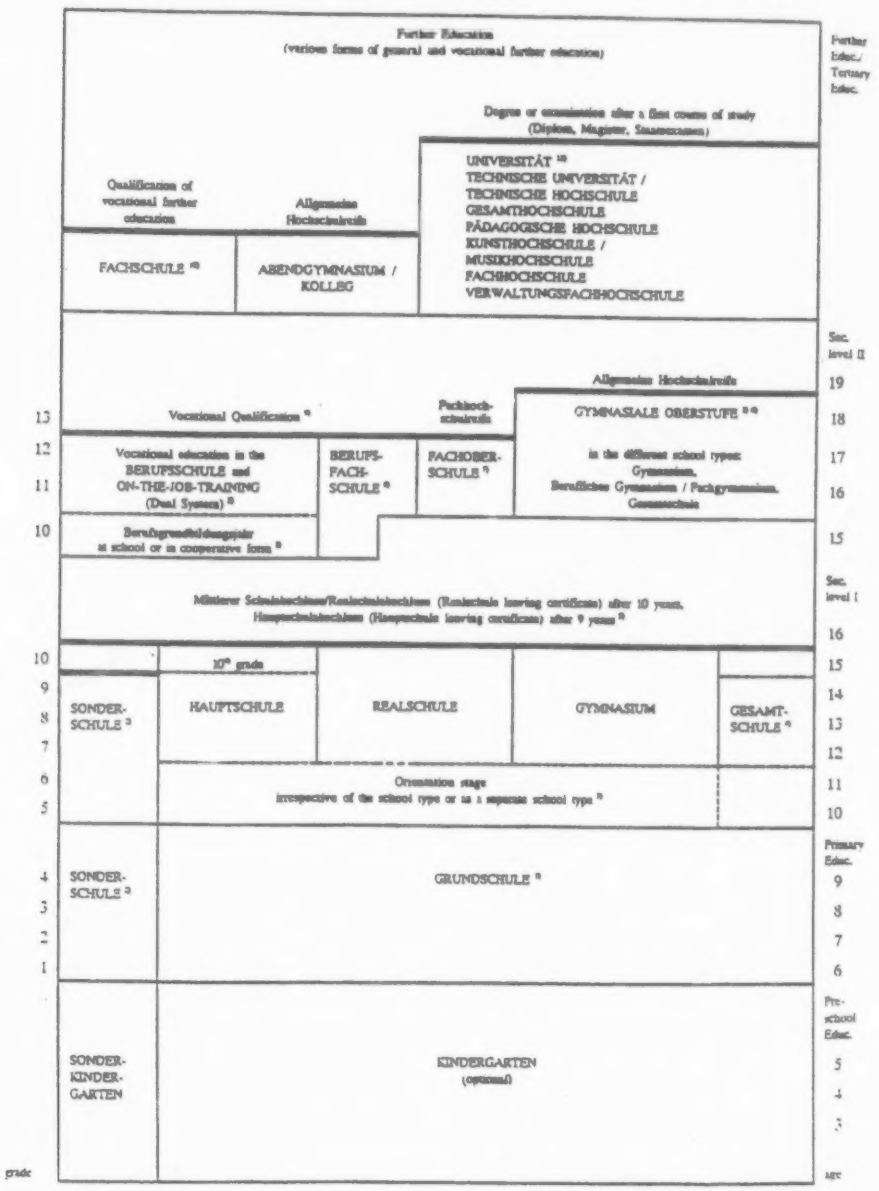


Appendix 3

Basic Structure of the Educational System in the Federal Republic of Germany

Secretariat of the Standing Conference of the Ministers
of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder
in the Federal Republic of Germany
1996

Basic Structure of the Educational System in the Federal Republic of Germany



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Annotations

Diagram of the basic structure of the education system. Lower secondary education (secondary level I) is portrayed in line with the distribution of the school population in 1994 taken as a national average: *Hauptschule* 25.6%, *Realschule* 26.5%, *Gymnasium* 31.5%, *integrierte Gesamtschule* 9.0%. Unlike the basic structure presented here, the provision of schools at secondary level I - with the exception of *Sonderschulen* - varying in the different Länder includes:

- separate schools which prepare pupils for one of the three school-leaving qualifications, namely *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* and offered in most Länder;
- unified schools which prepare pupils for any one of the three school-leaving qualifications. *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* and *Gymnasium* are either united into a single administrative unit with pupils being streamed according to their intended final qualification (*kooperative Gesamtschule*, *Schulzentrum*) or the three school types are united administratively and educationally with pupils being taught in mixed-ability groups while setting is gradually phased in for some subjects (*integrierte Gesamtschule*);
- unified schools which prepare pupils for one of two leaving certificates (*Hauptschule* and *Realschule*) with various names in the different Länder, such as *Mittelschule* (Sachsen), *Regelschule* (Thüringen), *Sekundarschule* (Sachsen-Anhalt, Saarland), *Integrierte Haupt- und Realschule* (Hamburg), *Verbundene Haupt- und Realschule* (Hessen) and *Regionale Schule* (Rheinland-Pfalz).

The ability of pupils to transfer between school types and the recognition of school-leaving qualifications is basically guaranteed if the preconditions agreed between the Länder are fulfilled. The duration of full-time compulsory education (compulsory general education) is 9 years (10 years in four of the Länder) and the subsequent period of part-time compulsory education (compulsory vocational education) is 3 years.

1 In some Länder special types of transition from pre-school to primary education (*Vorklassen*, *Schulkindergärten*) exist. In Berlin and Brandenburg the primary school comprises 6 grades.

2 The disabled attend special forms of general-education and vocational school types (in some cases integrated with non-handicapped pupils) depending on the type of disability in question. Designation of schools varies according to the law of each Land.

3 Irrespective of school type, grades 5 and 6 constitute a phase of particular support, supervision and orientation with regard to the pupil's future educational path and its particular focuses. In some Länder, the orientation stage (*Orientierungsstufe*) is organized as a separate organisational unit independent of the standard school types.

4 The provision of comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschulen*) varies in accordance with the respective educational laws of the Länder.

5 The general education qualifications that may be obtained after grades 9 and 10 carry particular designations in some Länder. These certificates can also be obtained in evening classes.

6 Admission to the *Gymnasiale Oberstufe* requires a formal entrance qualification, which can generally be obtained after grade 10. Sachsen-Anhalt and Thüringen have ruled that the formal entrance qualification can be awarded after grade 9 at the *Gymnasium*. The *Allgemeine Hochschulreife* can generally be obtained after the successful completion of 13 school years, i.e. consecutive grades. In four Länder (Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) the *Allgemeine Hochschulreife* can, for a transitional period, be acquired after 12 years of schooling.

7 The *Fachoberschule* is a school type lasting two years (11th and 12th grades) which takes pupils who have completed the *Realschule* and which qualifies them for higher education *Fachhochschulreife*. Pupils who have successfully completed the *Realschule* and have been through initial vocational training can also enter the *Fachoberschule* directly in the 12th grade. Alternative routes for acquiring the *Fachhochschulreife* are e.g. the *Berufsfachschule* and *Fachschule*.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8 Full-time vocational schools differing in terms of entrance requirements, duration and leaving certificates. Certain two-year *Berufsfachschulen* requiring a *Realschule* certificate for admission lead to a state-recognized examination as technical assistant. One-year courses at *Berufsfachschulen* offer basic vocational training.

9 Extension courses are offered to enable pupils to acquire qualifications equivalent to the *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* leaving certificates.

10 *Fachschulen* are schools at the upper level of secondary education offering courses of between 1 and 3 years duration.

11 Including institutions of higher education offering courses in particular disciplines at university level (e.g. theology, philosophy, medicine, administration science, sport).

Glossary

ABENDGYMNASIUM: General secondary night school for employed adults providing university entrance qualification.

ALLGEMEINE HOCHSCHULREIFE: Qualification obtained as a rule by taking a final examination (*Abiturprüfung*) after 13 years of schooling, including upper secondary education, normally at a *Gymnasium*. The holder has in general the right to study at all institutions of higher education without restrictions with regard to subject areas.

BERUFLICHES GYMNASIUM: Upper level of the *Gymnasium* with a career-oriented or technical bias (grades 11 to 13) which leads to a general university entrance qualification. Career oriented-subject areas and focuses such as economics and engineering are added to the subjects otherwise available at the general education *Gymnasium*.

BERUFSFACHSCHULE: Full-time vocational school at the upper level of secondary education that prepares students for jobs or provides them with vocational training promoting at the same time general education. Depending on the objective of training, the requirements for admission (*Hauptschule* or *Realschule* certificate) and the period of training vary from 1 year to 3 years.

BERUFSGRUNDBILDUNGSJAHR: Basic vocational training year as the first stage of vocational training either in a full-time school or in the cooperative form of part-time school and on-the-job training (dual system).

BERUFSSCHULE: Part-time vocational school at the upper level of secondary education providing general and vocational education for pupils in initial vocational training, special attention is paid to the requirements of training in the dual system (part-time school and on-the-job training).

FACHHOCHSCHULE: Institution of higher education offering degree programmes, particularly in engineering, economics, administration, social work, agriculture and design. The preparation for employment on the basis of applications-oriented teaching and research is the specific training purpose of the *Fachhochschulen*.

FACHOBERSCHULE: Technical secondary school (grades 11 to 12) specializing in various areas and providing access to *Fachhochschulen*.

FACHSCHULE: Technical school providing advanced vocational training.

GESAMTHOCHSCHULE-UNIVERSITÄT: Institution of higher education existing in two Länder combining functions of the universities, *Fachhochschulen* and, in some cases, colleges of art and music. The institution offers courses of study of varying duration and leading to different degrees.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

GREECE

Crisis and Reform in Greek Education: The Modern Greek Sisyphus

Andreas M. Kazamias with the assistance of Yiannis Roussakis

I. Introduction

Perceived crises and concomitant efforts at reform and reconstruction have marked the post World War II history of Greek education. Each reform effort, or "episode", claimed to be different and comprehensive, and in some respects, it was, in that (a) each had some specific and differentiating reform emphases or thrusts, and (b) it was forged in particular historical socio-political, economic and cultural contexts, by a historically situated constellation of forces, to serve particular educational and political ends. At the same time, there was an amazing "continuity" in the major characteristics of the reform plans, as well as an ideological convergence rather than divergence, despite the Right, Center, or Left political alignments that sponsored them. Moreover, all reform efforts were conceptualized, initiated and sought to be implemented by essentially the same state apparatuses, mainly at the central level of government.

Educational reform in Greece, always a hot political issue, can be conceptually and ideologically envisaged as a variation of what Andre Gorz has called "reformist reform," in contrast to "radical" or "structural reform" (Gorz, 1964), and the reform movement as "educational reformism." Its main thrusts have been the "democratization" and "modernization" of what was believed to be an anachronistic and deficient educational system, one that was excessively centralized and bureaucratized, economically inefficient,

socially exclusive and inequitable and pedagogically authoritarian. This reformist educational orientation has acquired greater salience in the 1990's, partly as a consequence of Greece's commitment to the new European ideal and the construction of a new European space that this ideal has entailed. As the Minister of National Education and Religions put it in a prefatory note to the publication of the current measures, entitle Education 2000 - For a Paideia of Open Horizons: "Our aim is, in the years to come, to construct an educational system that is modern and of higher quality , one that will provide wider educational choices for all citizens, irrespective of age, and ,at the same time, will be capable of laying the foundation for the progress of Greek society and the development of the country." (*Education 2000*, 1997, p.5).

II. The Modern Greek Educational Trajectory: Historcal-Comparative Generations of Discourse, and Policies

To understand the vicissitudes and travails of Greek educational reform and the current state of affairs in the Greek educational arena, one must cast a reflective glance at least three historical conjunctures in the development of the modern Greek "nation-state" and pari passu the modern Greek national system of education. For the modern Greek educational system and the modern Greek paideia have been constructed and developed in relation to the formation, and continued process of consolidation and modernization of the Greek nation-state. From its formation, after a revolutionary war against the Ottoman Empire in the second decade of the nineteenth century to the contemporary/current conjuncture, the Greek nation-state has been in a constant state of "crisis of legitimisation," a state of affairs that has had important implications for the governance and the general orientation of the formal system of schooling. The three historical conjunctures, or what may be called "generations of discourse and policies," are: (a) The formative period, which spans the years of the era of the Enlightenment and the emergence of the European nation-

state in the 19th century, (b) the period of consolidation (circa 1880-1930), which coincides with the era of European "liberal modernity," new industrialism, corporate capitalism, and in the case of the Balkans, of "esostrephic nationalism," and (c) the contemporary epoch of what may be called Neo-European modernization. In view of the limited scope of this approach to the Greek case study, any inquiry into the nature and historical context of these periods/epochs must necessarily be brief, truncated, and rather "epidermic."

1. The Formative Period: The Challenge of Modernity: Within the general framework of the European Enlightenment-modernity project (cf. Jurgen Habermas), the Greek trajectory of the newly-formed State was characterized by highly centralized mechanisms of governance and a state steering stultifying bureaucracy, the so-called "bureaucratic phenomenon." In addition, the emergent state was also envisaged as a national, nationalistic and ethnocentric state, i.e., as a monocultural Greek nation-state. Furthermore, it is pertinent for our purposes to point out that the emerging Greek system of governance was vitiated by what is known as a clientelist political culture.

The Greek educational system, as a mixture of institutions, as a *magma* of significations, and as an ideological mechanism, was constituted and developed in association with the construction and development of the Greek State. This, it should be remembered, was the case with other European educational systems (Green, 1990). Without exaggeration, one could say that in Greece: "As with the state, so with education, " and, "as with education, so with the state." Within such a structural political framework, the educational system itself, as constructed, became centralized, bureaucratized, controlled and controlling. But the viability of a national Greek state-a nation-state-in the context of European modernity entailed the construction not only of a national system of education but also of a Greek ethno-national culture. In this respect, the educational system, as Mouzelis points out, "was transformed into an instrument of moulding a particular type of national identity and of altered orientations,

attachments and institutions from the local and regional levels to the national center." (Mouzelis, 1992).

2. Stress and Consolidation: Toward a Modern National/State System and a Neo-Hellenic National Culture/Paideia: The nation-state building character of Greek education during the formative period of modern Greek national development in the 19th century, with "statization" as its main axis, was strengthened further during the subsequent century and a half. By the end of the 19th century (the period of the second historical conjuncture) Greece had developed into a constitutional monarchy (with a representative parliamentary government), but one that was still vitiated by strong patronage and clientelist political norms (Legg, 1977). But, in the face of new developments--endogenous and exogenous--the always rather unstable Modern Greek State found itself in a precarious situation; its viability and consolidation were in jeopardy. Geopolitically, Greece became embroiled first in a war with the Ottoman Empire and then in the Balkan and European imbroglio. Among other things, these encounters resulted in the redrawing of the country's geographical boundaries and the incorporation into its expanded sovereign territory of a large number of people with different ethno-cultural (in terms of ethnicity, religion and language) backgrounds. Internally, there were (a) a socio-political upheaval (the so-called Revolution of Goudi in 1897) which resulted in the adumbration of a liberal bourgeois state, and (b) a neo-hellenic cultural revival, often referred to as "neo-hellenic enlightenment." At the same time, it is important to note that Greece continued to be primarily an agricultural country (with a very small secondary/industrial sector and a comprador economy), one that was situated on the periphery of European capitalism and industrial modernization.

The cultural revival, spanning the **epistemes** of literature, poetry and the newly-created "science" of ethnography (*laographia*), used *demotike*, the contested popular form of modern Greek as the linguistic form of writing and communication, instead of

katharevousa, a pure and somewhat "archaic" form of modern Greek which, after independence, was instituted as the official language of the state and of instruction in the schools. But this cultural revival had ethno-national and nation-building significations as well. *Demoticism* was more than a movement to establish the popular spoken form of modern Greek as the linguistic medium of literature and poetry and the medium of instruction in the schools. It also sought to construct a new ethno-national identity--a helleno-European identity with emphasis not so much on the classical Greek past as on the modern Greek culture. Hellenocentrism becomes a contested cultural arena. Inevitably education, i.e., the formal structure and content of schooling, and more broadly *paideia* also become contested arenas.

Education and *paideia* are being "modernized," but still within the Greek trajectory of the European national state and national culture Enlightenment/modernity project. Specifically: attempts are made to systematize the educational system along European hierarchical and class lines (cf. Muller, Ringer and Simon, 1987), while adhering to the literary humanistic Helleno-Christian canon for nation-building, national cohesion and national identity. Despite the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity of the population, Greek education and *paideia* continue to be "monocultural" and highly "ethnocentric."

3. Coping with the Neo-European Modernity *Kosmos*: The Modern Greek Sisyphus: The third historical conjuncture of relevance to the Greek case is the period after the Second World War, particularly the years after the restoration of democratic government in 1974. It is a turbulent and complex historical epoch during which an economically devastated and politically unstable post-war European country, with entrenched traditional structural rigidities, cultural traits and mentalities, has sought to cope with the challenges posed by the newly constructed European politico-economic space, the "imagined" new Europe, or what we have elsewhere referred to as "Neo-European Modernity."(Kazamias and Kassotakis, 1995). By the 1970s, there were indications that, despite its traditional political and cultural

"pathologies," Greece, according to one knowledgeable student of modern Greek society and politics, was well on its way toward entering the *kosmos* of the so-called First World of modernity. And by 1981, the same writer continues, the entry of Greece into the European Economic Community (EEC), later known as the European Union (EU), "could legitimately be regarded as the crowning achievement of a longer-term process of socioeconomic and political modernization." (Diamandouros, 1997). But this did not happen. For there were countervailing forces and a "darker" side to this promising trajectory, which has made and is making the road to "the neo-European modernity cosmos", a *Sisyphian* uphill toil. One structural weakness that contributed to this bumpy road to neo-European modernity has been the character of the modern Greek polity, namely, the state, the political culture, and the almost non-existent civil society. Here we refer to the overgrown, cumbersome, party-controlled, centralized and authoritarian state steering apparatuses of government, the continued clientelist political culture, and a weak civil society. Functioning within a clientelist polital culture, the Greek party-controlled state has dispensed benefits not necessarily on the basis of universalistic meritocratic criteria, hence excluding those who were not its "clients." We witness here an exclusionary form of "democratic" citizenship.

Turning from the polity to the economy, experts characterize the latter sector as being "chronically backward." Compared to other countries of the Mediterranean periphery (e.g., Spain and Portugal), Greece, according to one such economic expert, "did not show comparable adjustment over the same period (through the 1980s and 1990s)." Its rate of economic growth "remained lower and its inflation rate higher than that of both Mediterranean countries and the European average." And, the same writer adds: "This delayed adjustment indicates a syndrome of economic malaise...it is nevertheless clear that Greece's condition of low growth and high inflation signals its disadvantages *vis-a-vis* its Mediterranean neighbours and its European partners."(Thomadakis, 1997).

Paralleling the efforts to "adjust" to the architecture of the neo-European *modernity kosmos*, as it is being constructed, particularly in the last couple of decades of "Euro-optimism," have been successive attempts at educational restructuring, at the modernization of the educational culture and at overall reform of the organization and the content of schooling. Since the 1950's there have been several such reform "episodes," as we choose to call them, the most serious being those of (a) 1964, under a the liberal Center Union government, (b) 1976-77, under the neo-conservative New Democracy government, and (c) 1985, under the socialist government of PASOK.

As noted in the introduction to this case study, the main conceptual axes of the post-war reform movement were: educational **modernization** and **democratization**, the main emphasis being on the "educational," that is on school-centered or system-centered readjustments. Specific state-initiated reforms by the various governments, included, *inter alia*: (a) the reorganization of the formal structure of the school system (see Diagrams A and B), (b) the extension of free compulsory education from six to nine years, (c) the abolition of national examinations from the *gymnasion* (the lower secondary school) to the newly-established *lykeion* (upper secondary school), (d) the establishment of *demotike* (the popular form of the Greek language) as the language of instruction and of the textbooks at all levels of education, (e) the teaching of classical Greek texts in modern Greek translations, (f) changes in the training of kindergarten and elementary school teachers: abolition of the two-year Pedagogical Academies and the placement of teacher training in the universities, and (g) the abolition of the school inspectorate and the institution of "school counsellors."

Writing in 1990, we noted: "These reforms, introduced with considerable fanfare and optimism, have not measured up to expectations. The historical verdict has generally been that they did not bring about the anticipated changes." Despite some quite noteworthy modifications (e.g., expansion of the educational enterprise, the "solution" of the language problem and the teaching of

classical Greek texts in modern Greek translations, and the abolitition of the school inspectorate), certain weaknesses and inefficiencies of the system persisted. These may be summarized as: (a) the persistence of inequalities of opportunities as between the urban and the rural areas and among occupational groups or "social classes;" (b) relatively high drop-out rates (not all children enjoy the right of nine-year schooling); (c) the persistence of *frontisteria* (cram schools); (d) the experience of schooling continued to be characterized by formalism, an authoritarian pedagogy, and an anachronistic educational knowledge, and (e) the double educational network (general and vocational) continued to function differentially for social groups and "asynchronically" in relation to society and the world of work. (Kazamias, 1990).

To this array of inadequacies and inefficiencies we should add: (f) those that the reforms left out, namely, the ethnic and religious minorities, (g) "a serious mismatch between educational output and the changing needs of the economy and labour market" (OECD, 1997), and (h) the non-reform of the system of governance. In this latter respect, the replacement of the school inspectors by school counselors did not substantially alter the system of central direction and control, what may metaphorically be called the *panoptikon* of surveillance and power. And, although in recent years there has been much talk about "decentralization" or "deconcentration," and some practical steps have been taken in that direction, the system of governance, control and policy-making has remained as highly centralized and highly bureaucratised as ever. In fact, according to the recent OECD examiners' report, "there is a reconcentration of power rather than decentralisation." This pattern of governance, the same report notes, "makes of education a closed system, not easily amenable to change and innovation." (OECD 1997, pp 191-92).

The governments of the 1990's (that of the earlier neo-conservative New Democracy and the current one of the "socialist" PASOK), have considered the existing state of affairs in education as quite inadequate, especially in view of Greece's commitment to the new

European idea and what that idea entails in terms of Greece's active participation in the "imagined" integrated Europe of late modernity. Immediately after the elections of 1996, when PASOK was returned to power with Costas Simitis as the Prime Minister, the reform movement in education and in other spheres picked up considerable momentum. Simitis and his group in the government and in the party in power became known as the "modernizers" which, among other things, implied being also "neo-Europeanists." With Gerasimos Arsenis, an economist, as Minister of Education, and two professors of education from the University of Athens (Michael Kassotakis, a professor of pedagogy and Theodoros Exarchakos, a professor of mathematics education) as his main advisers, a comprehensive plan for the structural readjustment and modernization of the Greek system of schooling was prepared, and, in some of its components, already put into operation. The reform package was published under the telling title *Education 2000--An Education/Paideia of Open Horizons.*

Before proceeding with a more detailed analysis of this ongoing *Education 2000* reform in the Greek case, from the perspective of the EGSIE project, it is necessary to get a fuller picture of the educational system that is being reformed. This is undertaken in Section III that follows

III. Overview of the Greek educational system

In this section we provide some basic information on certain aspects of Greek education, especially on the formal system of schooling. While this task is carried out in an essentially descriptive form, based on the presentation of specific data, occasionally there are sprinklings of analysis or exegesis. The material is organized under four general rubrics:

a. Governance and administration
b. Structures and institutions
c. Provision and opportunities
d. Curricula and school cultures

Governance and Administration

By constitutional provision education in Greece is under the supreme supervision of the state and it is provided free, at public expense, from pre-school to the institutions of higher learning (university and non-university level tertiary institutions). State supervision and control are carried out by a highly organized and centralized bureaucracy headed by the Minister of National Education and Religions (MOER) who is assisted by two Deputy Ministers and a General Secretary. As we (Kazamias, 1990) have noted elsewhere:

> As with the Greek state, so with the Greek system of education. Being a mechanism of the Greek State, education is inextricably interlinked with the bureaucratism and centralized apparatuses of the state. As such, it is itself centralized, rigidly controlled, bureaucratized, and hierarchically structured. The top-down politico-ideological control system has been called 'educational bureaucratism' with all that this term connotes, viz., overcentralization, overstaffing, authoritarianism, formalism, and inefficiency, which frustrate efforts at educational change. At the top of the bureaucratic control system is the minister of education and the central organs of educational government. Below him, in descending rank order of decision making and responsibility, is a set of other hierarchies (the general directorates and the departments) reaching down to the micro-level of the school hierarchy (the principals and vice-principals). Each link in the chain of authority is associated with exercise of certain decisions within the purview of its responsibility. But, 'fundamental decisions about the goals, the processes and the means/methods of carrying out the educational process are taken by those at the top of the hierarchy,' meaning, of course, the MOER and the central authorities.

More specifically, we have written:

> The central state government, through the MOER controls and regulates every aspect of the educational system. It certifies, appoints, and dismisses all teachers and other educational personnel in the elementary and secondary schools, and approves the appointment of university professors; it draws up, defines and enforces all types of educational knowledge (curricula), subject syllabi, timetables and crucial examinations such as the university entrance examinations; it approves and publishes all school textbooks; it defines the objectives of each subject and issues guidelines/instructions regarding how the subject matter should be taught/approached in the classroom; it regulates the school councils and all matters pertaining to the organization of school life; and it even interferes in the operation of school canteens.

Until the 1980s, this centralized pattern of state steering in education was reinforced by another mechanism, that of the school inspectors. School inspectors were state functionaries who combined both administrative and supervisory/regulatory responsibilities. They inspected schools and reported on the teachers' classroom and school behaviour as well as on the teachers' performance of their duties and responsibilities. In short, school inspectors saw to it that government policy was dutifully carried out. In the 1980s the school inspectorate was abolished and school counsellors replaced it. However, this structural change did not weaken or restrict the central government's powers of supervision and control over the teachers as well as over what is taught in the schools and how it is taught.

In the same vein, it should be noted that the socialist government of PASOK, the party in power from 1981-1989, sought to restructure the political context of schooling, and by implication to restructure the state, through a much publicized policy of decentralization, democratic planning, and local government. In education, this policy was translated into certain formal institutional arrangements such as the setting up of a network of education committees and councils with different responsibilities at the regional and local levels of government (provincial, city or town, and school). However, this prima facie structural innovation for the devolution of power towards the local organs of government did not alter substantially the bureaucratic, hierarchical and centralized nature of the decision-making process in education. For one thing, provincial and local bodies were highly political (reflecting the wishes of the party in power), and, for another, their functions were merely advisory. As one recent study of public administration, with specific reference to the MOER, put it: "So, in Greece there is a contradiction between the existing legislation and the procedures which are followed in practical terms. Thus, on the one hand, Education Acts create regional education services for a radical decentralisation of power from the centre to regional areas, and on the other hand, almost all education affairs demand ministerial approval." (Saitis, 1990).

Talk about the need for decentralization and the devolution of powers from the center to the periphery and the local has abounded in the recent and current reform discourse, as we point out below in another part of this case study. Restructuring along these lines was also strongly emphasized by the OECD "Educational Policy Review" of 1997. "At the heart of many of the problems," the OECD Review observed, "lies the highly centralised, highly bureaucratised politico-administrative system within which education operates. Overall, it makes of education a closed system, not easily amenable to change and innovation." (OECD, 1997).

Educational structures and institutions

One rather straightforward way to examine the structural framework of an educational system is to describe the nature and function of the various levels and types of institutions of which it is compised. (See Diagram B). In the Greek case, the system can be broken down and examined in terms of the following four structural components:

- The state / public versus the non-state / private sectors of "schooling" at all the levels (pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary).
- The general versus the technical / vocational branches of education.
- The common compulsory versus the differentiated non-compulsory, vertical and horizontal institutional arrangement.
- The educational versus the para-educational structures, i.e., schools versus "frontisteria."

State / Public versus Non-State / Private Schooling

The vast majority of Greek students attend state / public pre-primary, primary and secondary schools. (See Tables 1and 2 in Appendix A). All tertiary institutions (university and non-university level) are, by constitutional mandate, public establishments.

The State / Public Sector: State education, which is fully supported and controlled by the state, is organized vertically into 4 levels: Pre-school, primary, secondary (lower and upper) and tertiary. Pre-school education is optional and is intended for children aged 3 to 6 years. Its aim is stated to be "to help little children to develop physically, emotionally, socially and mentally within the broader aims of primary and secondary education" (Law 1566/85). Primary education is compulsory and lasts 6 years (usually for children aged 6 to 12 years). It is aimed at "the pupils' all-round mental and physical development, at their socialization into national, religious and moral values, and the development / acquisition of basic oral written and computational skills."(Law 1566/85). One structural feature of primary schooling with important social and educational / pedagogical consequences is the diversity in the physical and human environment of classroom organization and learning. There are, of course, variations in the physical facilities between urban and rural settings and between schools in different parts of the same area. In Greece, however, there are disparities among the several categories of primary schools, which are known by the number of classroom and/or teachers they have, but which in all cases, provide education for all six classes. These categories are: (a) *monotaxia* (one-room, one- teacher schools), (b) *ditaxia* (two- room, two-teacher schools), (c) *tritaxia* (three-room, three- teacher schools), and (d) *polytaxia* (four- or six- room schools with four or more teachers). The numbers of one-room schools, which have presented the most problems, have been diminishing over the years. Still, in 1993/94 there were 1786 such institutions representing 24.3% of the total number of primary schools.

The secondary level of schooling is divided into two self-contained cycles: (a) an undifferentiated three-year *Gymnasion*, which is also compulsory, and (b) a differentiated three-year *Lykeion*, or two-year Technical Vocational Schools. Admission into both cycles is without examinations. The *Gymnasion* is envisaged both as a continuation of the basic general education of the primary school and as the lower cycle of the secondary stage. Its purpose is described to be "to

promote the pupils' all-round development in relation to the abilities, which they have at this age, and the corresponding demands of life." (Law 1566/85).

The institutions of upper secondary education are the *lykeia* and the technical and vocational schools (TVS). Students who have completed the nine-year compulsory education can enrol in any upper-level secondary school. In 1997-98 there were three types of *lykeia*: The general, the technical and vocational, and the "comprehensive" or polyvalent (*polykladika*) *lykeia*.

The vast majority of students have till now opted for the former type / route, which leads more easily into the universities. The aim of general *lykeio* is "to build the character and personality of the pupils so that they are able to contribute to the social, economic and cultural development of the country, gain an understanding of society, and make correct choices for their further studies and careers" (Law 1566/85). The technical and vocational *lykeia* aim, additionally, "to give pupils the necessary technical and vocational knowledge in order to enable them to develop their skills", so that "they can successfully work in a specific technical or vocational field" (Law 1566/85) The comprehensive *polykladiko lykeio* was first introduced in 1984 in an effort to combine both types of *lykeia*.

At the apex of the general public sector stand the universities and the university -level institutions, officially referred to "highest educational institutions" or AEIs, and below them, the non-university level establishments, which are known as "higher education". All in all there are 19 AEIs , the youngest of which is the newly established Greek Open University, and 14 non-university level "technological educational institutions" or TEIs. The latter account for 28.5 % of all students in tertiary education. There are several important differences between the two types of tertiary institutions: in their legal and financial status; in their governance and internal organization; in the appointment and the qualifications of the teaching staff; in subject matter and certification; and in the orientation and occupational status of their graduates. Generally speaking AEIs are more autonomous

than TEIs, which in all areas mentioned above, are under the complete control of the central Ministry of Education. These features, together with the credentials (titles, degrees or diplomas) that go with graduation from each category, have contributed to higher status and prestige being accorded to AEIs as compared to other institutions. Understandably, AEIs have also been more favoured by students and parents than the other tertiary institutions.

Tertiary education in Greece is quite distinct from secondary; the latter does not lead automatically into the former. A system of highly competitive national examinations set by the MOER and a *numerus clausus* guard entrance into all types of tertiary institutions. The social demand for university admission has for years now been disproportionately high. Normally, only about 1 in 3 or 4 of those who sit for the national examinations are admitted. The unsuccessful candidates either try again the following year, or choose to study abroad, or attend the privately operated "centres of free studies," or become unemployed.

Tertiary education has for a long time been felt to be unsatisfactory by various segments of professional, political, student and public opinion, and in direct need of change and modernization. The general feeling in the past decade has been that the universities are in a state of crisis. Since tertiary education is, by constitutional provision (Article 16 par. 5 of the Greek constitution), can be provided only by state institutions, much of the discourse has been about the privatization of higher education.

Finally, in this category of public educational provision one should mention the education of pupils with special needs, which is provided through three types of schooling, viz., (a) special schools attended by pupils with severe learning difficulties, (b) special courses offered to pupils who also spend limited time periods in ordinary classrooms, and (c) ordinary school courses combined with special courses outside school time.

The Non - State / Private Sector: The private sector includes various types of schools at the pre-school, primary, secondary levels and initial vocational training schools. There are no private tertiary institutions except some non-recognized branches of foreign higher education institutions, which go by the name of "Free Centers of Study." These establishments are considered to be private businesses and there is no control of the content or the quality of the type of education provided in them. In this category, one could add the vast network of cram schools known as *frontisteria* which are examined later in this chapter.

Non-state private schools receive no subsidies from government sources, but they must conform to the rigid state regulations regarding curricula, textbooks and examinations. In this respect, they are not much different from state schools. Among the private schools there are some selective "elite" establishments with regard to the social composition of their student population.

All private schools charge high tuition. They are mostly business enterprises owned and run by educational entrepreneurs. The percentage of pupils attending private schools has somewhat diminished in the last decade (from 5.2% in 1982/83 to 4.5% today).
Turning now to technical and vocational education (TVE), until the early 1960s, the private sector accounted for over 75% of the provision of technical and vocational schools. Also in the public sector this branch of schooling was provided largely under the purview of ministries other than the Ministry of Education (i.e., the Ministries of Labour, Social Services, Commercial Shipping, Agriculture, Culture, Development and others).

In the post-secondary level, the most important provider of Technical and Vocational Education and Training are the Institutes of Vocational Training (IEK), which were established in 1992 (Law 2009/92). They aim at "the organization, development and provision of vocational training; the formal certification of vocational training; the integration of secondary school leavers into levels of training stipulated in the above law and the directive 92/51 of the European

Union; and the implementation of all kinds of national or Community programs of vocational education and training" (EURIDICE, p.18). They can be either state or privately- run institutions and they can cooperate with the local businesses. Their regulatory authority is not the central Ministry of Education but the Organization for Vocational Education and Training (OEEK), a peripheral administrative unit.

At the tertiary level, technical and vocational education is provided by the Technological Educational Institutes, which have been described before. In Greece, as indeed in other countries, there are marked differences between general and technical /vocational education, not merely in the structural institutional framework, as outlined above. The two branches of the system recruit a different student clientele, socially and intellectually; provide different quality education; and are differentiated in terms of occupational and status rewards, not necessarily, however, in terms of earnings. Generally speaking, the technical / vocational branch consists disproportionally, of students from the lower socio-economic strata of the population, is frequented by students with lower achievements as gauged by examinations, and leads lower status occupations.

Lastly, no examination of the Greek non-state sector in education should ignore the extensive network of the privately owned and commercially operated "cram schools," known as *frontestiria*. One of the main purposes of these "paraeducational" institutions is to prepare students for the various types of examinations, particularly for the highly competitive entrance examinations into AEIs. Another purpose is to teach foreign languages. Surveys have shown that over 80% of the university students have made use of *frontestiria* before sitting for the entrance examinations. It has also been found that the longer one attends *frontisteria* the better one's chances are for securing a place at the universities.

Educational Provision, Participation and Opportunities--Inclusion and Exclusion

As in other countries of the European continent and of the world at large, education in Greece has witnessed a significant overall quantitative expansion in the past 25 years, especially at the general and technical /vocational secondary and the tertiary levels (see Table 3 in the Appendix B). The substantial increase in the social demand for post-primary education at all levels and types of schooling has been attributed to several factors. Among these, one often reads or hears the following: the rise in the economic and educational levels of the Greek population as well as certain traits in the Greek cultural tradition, namely, the great value placed upon education.

Overall increase in enrollments present one dimension of educational provision and participation in the educational system. Other dimensions would be to examine: (a) the structure of the **educational pyramid** showing student flows into the various levels and types of schooling, and (b) rates of **participation** in the various levels and types of schooling on the basis of socio-economic status, gender, geographical region, urbanness, and ethnocultural background.

The **educational pyramid** in Greece has a shape not unlike that of other European countries. Student flows in all levels and types of schooling decrease progressively as one move up the educational ladder and become quite noticeable at the tertiary level. All enter but few are able to finish. Although there is nine-year compulsory schooling, encompassing the six-year elementary school and the three-year gymnasion, not all of those who register in the first year of the elementary school are able to complete the nine years of compulsory education; quite a few drop out. At the apex of the system, however, Greece exhibits a rather unique phenomenon. Practically all students who enter the universities are able to graduate, perhaps not after the customary 4 years, but, at some time or another, they graduate nevertheless.

When the dimension of **participation** and its corollary **inclusion-exclusion** are taken into considertation, one finds uneven rates on all of the aforementioned criteria: socio-economic status, geographical region, urban-rural, gender and ethnocultural background. In this connection, it would be interesting to comment further on the **ethnocultural** criterion, which directs attention to **ethnocultural minorities** and the discourses on **interculturalism** and **multiculturalism**.

Minority, intercultural and multicultural education have only recently become subjects of the educational concern/discourse in Greece. They usually refer to at least four categories of subjects and concomitant educational areas: (a) The education of the Muslim, mostly Muslim-Turkish, minority in Western Thrace, by far the largest ethnoreligious minority in Greece (about 120,000 strong), (b) the education of repatriate Greeks, mostly from Germany where they had gone as "guestworkers," (c) the education of immigrants and aliens who have entered Greece in the 1990s; they include, among others, Albanians, Poles, Philippinos, Russian-Greeks, and (d) gypsies.

I. The educational regime governing the Muslim minority is specified in the Greek-Turkish Protocols of 1954 and 1968, while the establishment and the functions of minority schools are provided for in Law 119/1972 and Law 694/1979. One distinctive feature of these legal enactments is that they provide for primary education only. Another noteworthy feature is the **ethno-hellenocentric** educational ideology that pervades the purposes and policies of this category of schooling. Most Muslim pupils do not go on to secondary education, especially the girls. When they do so, they are usually underachievers and almost never manage to sit for the national examinations to enter institutions of higher learning.

II. The new political, economic and social conditions in the Balkans, in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union,

have transformed Greece from an emigrant into an immigrant country. At the same time, a number of Greek emigrants who left in the 60s and the 70s for the northern European countries (mostly Germany) have recently repatriated. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 80s - early 90s, caused a large number of Greeks who lived in the Black Sea (Pontos) republics to migrate to Greece. So did a significant proportion of the ethnically Greek population of Southern Albania. The number of persons who have sought a better future in Greece has increased even more owing to the break-up of former Yugoslavia and the impoverished post-socialist Balkan countries. Today, it is estimated that there is more than 150,000 repatriates and more than 500,000 immigrants living in Greece. Of these numbers, 45,000 are school-age children. Needless to say, this situation is having an impact on the educational map of the country, and it has created new educational problems. For example: The repatriate children usually have to attend regular classes, even if they do not speak Greek well, since "reception classes" and qualified teaching staff are not as well provided as they should be. This state of affairs automatically puts such children "at risk" in terms of educational advancement and enhances the possibility of their dropping out of school.

The problem becomes more serious with the immigrant children. Usually these children do not have someone who speaks Greek in their families, so they have serious difficulties of communication. But in addition to the language difficulty, some of these children face the problem of illegal immigration, which creates difficulties in their being allowed to enrol in Greek schools.

School Curricula and School Cultures

School curricula at all pre-tertiary levels and types of schools (public and private) are developed, prescribed and regulated by the government by means of laws and decrees, through its several

agencies (e.g., the MOER and the Pedagogical Institute). Government also maintains strict control and supervision of textbooks and examinations, and it even lays out the guidelines for classroom instruction. Curricula, textbooks, examinations and methods of supervision are uniform and national. There are no curriculum options, except on a limited scale, at the lykeion level. At the same time, there is hardly any form of differentiation of students by ability or interest; all students are exposed to the same educational knowledge and evaluated on the basis of uniform criteria.

The curriculum of the Greek schools has maintained an amazing consistency in its conceptual and ideological orientation as well as in much of its content in the last half-century or so, despite several efforts at reform and modernization. At all levels, it has sought to transmit, through the teachers and the prescribed texts, the cultural heritage and a body of established knowledge. At the secondary level, it has maintaind a hierarchical conception of knowledge with more emphasis being placed on literary-humanistic studies. At the same time, given the government controlled character of the Greek system, the nature of the Greek polity and its socio-economic infrastructure, the curriculum has always been a mechanism of social control by those in power, and it has often been an arena of political dispute and group conflict.

Two aspects of the curriculum are especially noteworthy in this latter aspect. One is the "language question," and the other, the study of ancient Greek classics in translation .At the risk of oversimplifying a very complex issue, the language question has roots reaching far back into Greek history, and the conflicts to which it has given rise have ramified into other sectors of Greek life besides education. Specifically in education, the language controversy has revolved around the use of the two forms of Modern Greek, namely, the *katharevousa* (the "pure" form) and the *demotike* (the "popular" form). It has been a salient politico-educational issue at various episodes of educational reform. In 1976, a rapprochement was reached. Still in effect today, there is a legal provision that the

language of instruction at all levels of education should be the "neo-hellenic" i.e., the *demotike*. A settlement has also been reached on the other contentious issue of the study of ancient Greek texts in translation. Since 1976, ancient Greek in the *gymnasion* is taught in translation and not in the original form as had traditionally been the case. Pupils from the older forms of the Greek language"

One of the least systematically observed or studied aspects of Greek schools is the **experience of schooling** itself. By this we mean, *inter alia*, such elements of schooling as: the authority structure in the school and in the classroom; teacher behaviors and the nature of the pedagogical relationship; how teachers and students perceive knowledge, their roles, and each other; the nature of the learning environments provided by schools; discipline, rewards and punishment; and the so-called "hidden curriculum.". Likewise, there are gaps in our knowledge regarding the "effectiveness" of Greek schools. From time to time, there are reports about the success or failure rates of Greek students in the national examinations and this causes considerable public concern. Variations in school or student performance are often attributed to such factors as teacher training and teacher quality, differences in the physical environment of teaching and learning (buildings, classrooms, instructional equipment, etc) methods of teaching and similar school characteristics. This may indeed be true, but the fact remains that evidence is lacking on what makes a good (effective) or bad school, or what school characteristics matter most-- in the sense of influencing children's learning.

On the basis of anecdotal accounts and impressionistic observations, one could say that Greek schools and pedagogy are, in the main, "traditional": excessively intellectualistic, teacher dominated, and authoritarian. Other observers of the Greek educational scene have from time to time pointed out that pupils by and large "still learn mostly by rote through many hours of formal instruction"; that there is an absence of "dialogue" in the classroom; that there is no time for independent thought; that the curriculum and books are "anachronistic" and "unsuitable", and the like. In

connection with the above, it is important to note that there is discrepancy between professional opinion and the educational literature on the one hand, and school practice, on the other. A glance at the professional journals and books, including textbooks used in the university departments of education, shows that Greek educators are by no means unfamiliar with the current state of scholarship or with contemporary thinking in the various fields of pedagogy in Europe, the USA and the rest of the world. This is also evident at professional meetings and in numerous articles in the press.

IV. Education 2000 - Toward an Education/Paideia of Open Horizons

In seeking to interpret and illuminate the current *Education 2000* reform "episode" in modern Greek education, the comparative historian of European and Greek education would have to take into consideration a concatenation of factors and forces. Among these, the following deserve special attention. First, the Greek "modernity trajectory" in its *longue duree*, as sketched in the second section of this study above. This trajectory needs to be revisited/reprised in order to highlight the mixture of institutions and the *magma* of significations, or what may be called the "signifiers," that have gone into the making (the formation and consolidation) of the modern national system of Greek education and the modern Greek *paideia*. Second, one must unravel the *matrix*--exogenous and endogenous - of the recent/contemporary historical conjuncture. This would mean the careful scrutiny of the political, economic, social and cultural *milieux* or "topography" of the period after 1974, more specifically the "topography" after 1981, when Greece entered the European Economic Community, later renamed the European Union. Third, related to the historical conjuncture above, one must bring out the modern Greek "exceptionalism," namely, Greece's multiple locations (regional, cultural, political-economic). Fourth, what are now developing to be global educational discourses and educational

cultures must also be mapped out and addressed, with particular reference to the Greek reform discourse. Fifth and last, it would be relevant to look into the educational reformers themselves: who they are, how they have constructed the Greek educational "crisis," and why embark upon a task that in the past proved to be"sisyphian." These are complex items to investigate. In this first text/version of the Greek case study we cannot but be very brief, rather elliptical, and not necessarily systematic in our approach to these considerations.

The construction of the crisis

A reading of the texts--the official ones, such as the basic *Education 2000*, and the written statements by political, social and educational reformers - seem to indicate that the educational crisis was perceived to be one of "asynchronization" of the educational system relative to the new European and global *cosmos* that was being constructed and in which Greece chose to place itself. The way out of the crisis, according to the reformers, was to restructure and "synchronize" or modernize the system and make it more "functional' in response to the challenges/demands made by the neo-European politico-economic and socio-cultural *topos* or space, as well as the global *ecumene* at large. All of these texts seem to speak the same "crisis " and modernization-reformist language.

Illustrative examples are the following:

a) In *Education 2000* we read: "As we enter the 21st century, we come face to face with a plethora of new developments." To wit:

- "New systems of communication..and international information networks ;"
- "Great social and economic readjustments ," which establish "a new order of things;"
- "Ever-closer linkages of the Greek society and the Greek economy with the European intenational space;"

- "With the development of mass media of communication, the way of like and the cultural and social characteristics of other societies become known, thus influencing the models and the behavior of all of us."

The developments above and the new European and global order, *Education 2000* avers, pose a challenge for Greek education. In its own words:

> It is the responsibility of education/schooling to prepare its citizens, so that they will be able to face this challenge and competition, to have the opportunity to enter the European and the international order and to be in a position to survive and excel in the international world, as it is being formed.

b) In a statement by Th. Exarchakos, the President of the Pedagogical Institute (an executive organ of the MOER) and one of the "architects" and "apologists" of the reform package, one is apprised of the same "crisology" as that found in the *Education 2000* offficial document. Casting a backward glimpse at the changes and travails of 20th century Greek history, Exarchakos asserts that during this turbulent period, "education, especially during the first half of the century, did not respond to the changes (social, political, economic) with the resoluteness and dynamism that the conditions created at each time demanded." This time (in the 90s), according to him, "new social, political, technological and other developments" have presented themselves,"which force us to be led towards the formulation of a new educational policy." In this context, Exarchakos reiterated the same developments as those in *Education 2000* noted above, but he also added some important internal factors. Among these, he emphasized the govenment's policy of what was referred to as "second degree of local self-government." This policy, demands"decentralized regional educational planning." (Exarchakos, 1997).

c) Similar ideas about the educational crisis and what made reform necessary, as the above, were expressed in various statements at various fora by M. Kassotakis, President of the newly created Educational Research Center (another government apparatus), an educational consultant to the Vice-Minister of Education, and, dubbed by many as the architect the Education 2000 reforms. (Kassotakis, 1997, 1998).

The crisis symptoms:

a) Internal system inefficiencies-low quality and low school performance: One perceived weakness of the Greek system, given the challenges of the times, was the internal inefficiency of schooling or low school performance. What was demanded by the new European and world order was high quality and flexible education, which would make Greece educationally more competitive in the European and global knowledge markets. As *Education 2000* put it: "In the 21st century there will be a pressing demand for the qualitative upgrading of education, for the development of competences and for the acquisition of new and flexible skills." (*Education 2000*, 1997).

The low performance of the schools, according to the reformers, was believed to be related to a concatenation of factors: (i) One such factor, to which the reform paid special attention, was believed to be the institutional structure of schooling, particularly at the upper secondary level, namely, the *lykeion*. A restructuring at this level along "comprehensive" or "unified" lines would help raise the quality of schooling; and it would, in addition, render secondary education more "modern" and more "democratic." (ii) Another factor was believed to be the absence of an efficient system of teacher and pupil assessment as well as of performance accountability and monitoring. (iii) Added to these, was the existence of the so-called *Epetirida*, a yearly seniority "waiting list" of certified "unemployed" teachers. In practice this has meant

that, after graduation and automatic certification, elementary and secondary school teachers have had to wait for a long time (at least 10 years and in many cases much longer) before being appointed to a teaching post. (iv) Another contributing element to the internal inefficiency of the schools inhered in the program of studies or the curriculum of both the gymnasion and the *lykeion*, and in the related school pedagogy. The curriculum of both levels of schooling was in need of modernization as regards both the content of general education and the subject/areas of knowledge. As *Education 2000* put it: "The need to modernize and broaden the types of knowledge that must be offered in Secondary Education is affirmed daily all over the world and is linked to the observation that the world of rapid technological developments and of the explosion of knowledge in which we live, requires first of all a solid foundation of general education (*paideia*) with a concomitant ability to exploit knowledge." (*Education 2000*, 1997, p.18). At the same time, Greek schooling has been plagued by an authoritarian formalistic pedagogy. (v) Internal school inefficiencies were also linked to the near absence of sound programs of educational and vocational guidance and counseling. (vi) Finally, there were intimations that a degree of "regional decentralization" of school governance would be for the better.

b) "External" Inefficiencies: In the discursive statements about the perceived "crisis" in education and the need for its restructuring/reform/modernization references are made to drop-outs, to equal opportunities, to democratic education, to the strengthening of technical and vocational education, to open access into institutions of higher learning, and to a smoother transition from school to work. For example, one of the goals of a reconstructed "education of open horizons," the subtitle of *Education 2000* , was stated as follows: "Education, first and foremost, must be **democratic**, that is every citizen must be able to have equal access to the educational process, independent of social

provenance, race, etc." Another, asserted: "Education must provide **'equal opportunities'** for all, and function as a mechanism that prevents **social exclusion** while securing **social cohesion**." (*Education 2000*, 1997, p.11).

Special attention was also paid to the restructuring and modernization of **"Technical and Vocational Education/Training."** The reformers saw an upgraded system of technical and vocational education and training as being related to development, to the increase in the "competitiveness of the already globalized national economy (new technologies, new occupations, new types of knowledge and skills)" and "to the social problems that accrue from the employment sector (unemployment, social exclusion.)" (*Education 2000*, 1997, p. 44).

Toward a Reconstructed and Euro-Modernized "Education of Open Horizons"

As indicated above, the present government of PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement), with an avowedly Eurocentric modernity ideology of politico-economic and social reform, has embarked upon an ambitious program of educational reform that encompasses virtually all aspects of the educational system: governance, control, institutional organization of schooling, curricula, pedagogy, teachers, general and technical/vocational education, intercultural education and the education of minors etc. This section summarizes the main parameters (institutional, administrative, curricular, pedagogical) of this ongoing state-initiated reform effort, characterized by one of its spokesmen as "one of the most important reforms that have taken place in the 20th century." (Exarchakos, 1997, p.19).

The Eniaio Lykeio (Unified Lyceum)

Considered by many to be the linchpin of the new educational reform architecture, the so-called Eniaio Lykeio (Unified Lyceum) is a sort of "comprehensive" type of upper secondary school that would follow the three-year compulsory general Gymnasion. According to one of

the prime reform actors, the Eniaio Lykeio (EL) was seen as a modern type of school that was prevalent in Europe and the world. It was "an educational and pedagogical proposal, "that was believed" to respond to the demands of equal opportunities for education, to the reduction of the differentiating lines among the various school types/forms in existence, and to the more efficient development of the abilities, aptitudes and interests of the students." At the same time, it was envisaged as a school that would provide "solid foundations of general education" (the Greek word genike paideia) upon which "continuing and lifelong education, learning and training" for the "equal participation of all the citizens" could be built. (Exarchakos, 1997, pp.28-29).

The internal organization of the program of studies would be as follows: (a) In the first year, a year of "orientation," the curriculum will consist of a common core of general education subjects which, in a sense, will be a continuation of the general education sequence of the Gymnasion; (b) in the second year, a core of general education subjects and three differentiated curricular "directions" or "tracks," viz., theoretical, scientific, and technological; and (c) in the third year, again a core of general education subjects and three curricular "directions" or "tracks," but "the electives for these tracks may be more than those of the second year." Graduates of the *Eniaio Lykeio* will be awarded the "National School-Leaving Certificate" (something similar to the French baccalaureate), which will entitle recipients to enter institutions of higher learning (both university- and non-university level) and the recently-established Institutes of Vocational Training (IEKs). (*Education 2000,* 1997, pp.16-21.Also see *Law-Plan "Eniaio Lykeio, Access to Tertiary Education, Evaluation of Teaching and Other Regulations*, 1977).

Open Access to Higher Education--Abolition of the Numerus Clausus

The institution of the Eniaio Lykeio was seen as a measure to expand opportunities for education that is to make the educational system

more **inclusive**. Another step in that direction was the abolition of the numerus clausus for access into tertiary institutions. In the year 2000, the "general examinations" for entrance into institutions of higher learning will be abolished and entrance into such institutions will be possible for all holders of the National School-Leaving Certificate. This measure, in conjunction with (a) the development of "Free Cycles of Study" in the Universities (AEIs) and the Technological Educational Institutes (TEIs), and (b) the establishement of an Open University, will further expand the structure of opportunities for higher education.(*Education 2000*, 1997, pp.29-38. Also see *Law-Plan*, as above and a prefatory statement by Gerasimos Arsenis, the Minister of National Education and Religions in *Education 2000*, as above, p.5).

Educational Knowledge and Culture - School Curricula, Pedagogy, and Textbooks

In the area of what may be called "educational knowledge and culture," it was stipulated that the traditional Greek "literary-humanistic canon,"namely, the cultivation of Greek *paideia*, language and cultural traditions, would continue "to constitute firm principles of educational reform," (Exarchakos, 1997, p.23). At the same time, it was stated that the curriculum and textbooks of the *Gymnasion* and the *Lykeion* were in need of "innovation" and modernization.

Here new subjects and curriculum activities were to be introduced, e.g., environmental education, infomatics, health education, consumer education, European dimension in education, etc.

In this connection, it is also relevant to refer to certain "whispers" that the modernization of the curriculum and the educational culture is aiming at the "redefinition" of Greek paideia, making it less **ethnocentric** and less **Eurocentric.**

Finally, there was concern about the improvement of **pedagogy**, namely, the methods of teaching, and the teaching-learning process. Reform thrusts in this direction were: (a) the introduction of a new system of pupil evaluation and teacher assessment; (b) "educational

orientation and guidance;" (c) special in-service training for teachers; (d) "reinforced or compensatory teaching;" and (e) special compensatory programs for "certain social categories" of students, i.e., Gypsies, children of Greek repatriates, pupils with learning disabilities, etc. (*Education 2000, 1997*)

Governance and Control--A Stronger "Guardian" or "Headquarter" State

The reform discourse emphasized such governance principles and policy goals as **democratic education, teacher participation** in the evaluation of students, participation of school principals, regional administrative officers and school counselors in the evaluation of the "school units, and a degree of **decentralization** in the planning of education (from the center to the regions). Such a discourse could be interpreted to mean that the intent of the lawmakers was to restructure the state steering and control mechanisms in Greek education in the direction of **decentralization** or **deconcentration** in decision-making, as well as a greater degree of "teacher autonomy." However, upon closer scrutiny of all pertinent provisions in the aforementioned reform documents, quite a different picture would seem to emerge. In our interpretation, what actuallly emerges is a "**stronger**" and more "**controlling**" state. One provision that warrants such an interpretation is the new proposals regarding the system of **student evaluation** and **teacher assessment**. According to the new system, a Special Body of Assessors/Evaluators (**Eidiko Soma Axiologeton**) is being set up with the following responsibilities:

"The assessment/evaluation,which will be carried out by the **Eidiko Soma Axiologeton**, will cover the physical infrastructure (e.g., buildings and equipment), the administration of the school, the educational process, the evaluation of teachers and the administrative personnel, and finally the evaluation of the efficiency of each school." (*Education 2000*, p.28).

This state steering mechanism, in a sense, reminds on of the previous notorious system of government- appointed School

Inspectors, a state mechanism that was abolished by the same PASOK party when it first came to power in the early 1980s.

Another change of relevance to the question of governance and state steering is what has been proposed and is being implemented to replace the abolition of the **Epetirida**, the "seniority/waiting list" for the appointment of teachers. Henceforth, secondary school teachers will be appointed after specially designed teacher examinations , set by the Ministry of Education and Religions, and the granting of a Certificate of Pedagogical and Teaching Sufficiency (**Pistopoietiko Paidagogikes kai Didaktikes Eparkeias**).

Still other mechanisms of relevance here were (a) the reconstruction and the reactivation of the National Council of Education (**Ethniko Symvoulio Paideias**), and (b) the newly-established Center of Educational Research (**Kentro Ekpaideutikis Erevnas**). The National Council of Education will exercise a "decisive role in the proposed educational reform," and will contribute to what was referred to as **Strategic Educational Planning**. The Centre for Educational Research will participate in "the assessment of of the educational system, and the planning of education and educational research." (*Education 2000*, 1997, pp.50-54, 44-43).

Note the word **strategic** above. In "modernizing" the Greek state, to be more in line with what we have characterized as "Neo-European Modernization," Prime Minister Simitis and his political-ideological confreres have been using the term **Strategic or Headquarter State**. We prefer to call it **the Guardian State**, after Plato's concept of the ideal **Politeia** (Polity).

The Education of Religious and Ethno-Cultural Minorities (Gypsies, Aliens and Repatriates)

In a previous section above, the condition of the education of the religious (mostly Muslim) and the ethno-cultural minorities in Greece was commented upon. The **Education 2000 Reform** paid some attention to these groups. While respecting "the cultural particularities" of these groups, and "with a view to establishing

mutual understanding among them," it was noted that the MOER "is pushing through important and path-breaking measures," one of which was the implementation of the programs under the European Union supported EPEAEK. The intent of such measures was to make the education of these hitherto excluded groups more **inclusive**. (*Education 2000*, 1997, p.47).

Technical and Vocational Education and Training

An important parameter of the **Education 2000 Reform** was the area of Technical and Vocational Education/Training (TVET). This type of education has been chronically problematic and a main concern of all major post-World War II reform "episodes." Almost invariably Greek reformers have considered the development of TVET as important mainly for occupational and developmental-economic reasons. It was no different with the current reform actors. Indeed, the economic structuring of the "neo-European modern space" seems to have made such "developmental" discourse even more salient. A propos of this, references are made inter alia to: (a) the need to develop occupational qualifications "which would be recognized and rewarded at the European level;" (b) the "relationship between TVET and questions that have to do with the increase in the competitiveness of the already internationalized/globalized national economy;" (c) the relationship between TVET and "the role fo Greece in the European economy," which would mean the "introduction, adjustment and utilization of new technologies" and the structuring of new "collective labor relations;" and (d) "policy adjustments to the programs of vocational education to the European conditions, in view of the 'European labor market,' so that the prospects of workers for employment and occupational mobility would be enhanced." To strengthen TVET several reform "initiatives" were adopted:

i. Introduction of the subject "Technology" in all the Gymnasion classes and in the first class of the Lykeion;

ii. "Upgrading of the content of studies, the textbooks and the infrastructure of the workshops of the Technical and Vocational Schools, so that the program of studies would be adjusted to the needs of production;"
iii. "Radical revision of the conceptions/understandings of the education, the qualifications and the in-service training of vocational education teachers and teacher-trainers;"
iv. "Harmonization of policy to the European vocational education programs;"
v. "Setting up of special training units which would accept persons who have left (dropped out) of the system of compulsoy education," thus "preventing the social exclusion of youth and placing them in a work environment."
vi. Organizational upgrading of the newly-established Organization of Vocational Education and Training (OEEK) and the improvement of the quality of training provided by the Institutes of Vocational Training (IEKs).

It should be noted that, according to the reform discourse, initiatives (v) and (vi) above would help in preventing persons that in the present system are socially exluded. (*Education 2000*, 1997, pp.44-46).

VI. Neo-European Modernity/Modernization and Greek Educational Reform-An Interpretative Epilogue

In the introduction to this study of Greek education we noted that underlying the various reform "episodes" and discourses of the post-World War II period were two related cardinal socio-historical and politico-ideological principles or axes: **modernization** and **democratization**. Viewed historically--from a *longue duree*-- these conceptual and ideological perspectives represent a "discontinuity," one may say, in the "modernity" trajectory of the formation and development of the modern Greek nation-state, as this study tried to show. In the three most important reform efforts of this latest epoch

(those of 1964, 1976 and 1985), the official reform discourse as well as that of key reformers (notably the dominating figure of Evangelos Papanoutsos, the architect of the 1964 reforms and an influential figure behind the 1976 reforms) abounded in statements that envisaged a restructured educational system that would be more **inclusive**. And, several policies had such a goal in mind. For example, emphasis was placed upon "free education for all" at all levels (elementary, secondary and higher), "equal educational opportunities," and "unimpeded education for all." Also, the policy of nine-year general compulsory schooling, the "national curriculum," the elimination of diglossy (the two forms of the modern Greek language) and the adoption of demotike (the popular form), and the teaching of the ancient Greek classics in modern Greek translations, were steps in the direction of **democratization** and more **inclusive** schooling. But, although progress may be said to have been made in that direction, Greek education continued to be **socially exclusive**. This was partly the consequence of limited and fainthearted state steering in both the educational and the social arenas, as it was the inherent ambivalence and contradictions of "**liberal educational reform**" or what has been called "**reformist reform**." It would not be historically incorrect to say that Maria Eliou's assessment of the 1976 reforms under the telling title "Those Whom Reform Forgot" could apply *mutatis mutandi* to the reform efforts that followed, and to a degree to the ones currently taking place. Eliou wrote:

> Properly implemented, they (the 1976 reforms) will harness the products of the educational system more effectively to the country's economy, but at the expense of the democratization of educational opportunities. Thus several categories of the population were and have remained 'educationally deprived' because the educational system continues to push them to one side. These are the illiterate, the semiliterate, the inhabitants of the countryside and areas removed from the large urban centers, the minorities. Furthermore, the needs of the female population, long underprivileged educationally, have stilll not been adequately considered. Neither the legislators nor even the various commissions which have been set up in the context of the attempts at reform have concerned themselves particularly with these significant sections of the population. (Eliou, 1978, pp.60-61, italics ours).

"Democratization", but perhaps more so **"modernization"** continue to be dominant elements in the current *Education 2000* comprehensive reform discourse. For example, G.Arsenis, the Minister of Education and Religions, begins his preface to the reform document *Education 2000*: *For a Paideia of Open Horizons*, in these words:

> The measures that are being proposed in connection with the educational reform package pertain to and influence all levels of education. Our aim is, in the years to come, to structure a modern and qualitatively improved educational system of widened educational choices for all citizens, irrespective of age, a system that will form the foundation for the progress of Greek society and for the development of the country. (*Education 2000*, 1997, p.5)

And, of course, as noted above, several of the policies adopted have this **inclusive** orientation. This is particularly the case, for example, with the *Eniaio Lykeio* (Unified Lyceum), but also with the restructuring of TVET, the changes in the admission to institutions of higher learning, and others. But, as we noted above, not much is being said about **the socially excluded religious and ethno-cultural minorities**, or about how regional, urban-rural and socio-economic disparities are going to be eliminated or lessened. The modernizing policy of paying more attention to the economic efficiency of schooling and less to social equity appears to continue.

The last point above, namely, the emphasis on **economic efficiency** at the expense of **social equity** or **social justice**, appears to be in line with the present government's "Euro-modern" politico-economic structural adjustment trajectory. This "neo-modern" European trajectory is different from what the earlier socialist PASOK governments advocated, but more congruent with the trajectories of other European "social democratic" states. A contemporary critic has characterized the orientation and policies of the present PASOK governing "modernizers" as "**Social-Liberal Modernization**." (Fotopoulos, 1997). We tend to agree with this appellation, but a fuller argumentation in support of our position is beyond the purview of this text.

VII. References and Relevant Bibliography on Governance and Educational Restructuring in Greece

Andreou, A., & Papakostantinou, P., 1994: *Exousia kai Organosi-Dioikisi tou Ekpaideutikou Systematos (Power and Organization-Administration of the Educational System)*. Athens: Nea Synora-A. Livani

Bouzakis, S. 1994: *Oi Ekpaideutikes Metarrythmiseis stin Ellada (Educational Reforms in Greece)*. Athens:Gutenberg.

Comparative Education Review, Vol. 22, No.1, (February, 1978), Special Issue «Featuring Educational Reform in Greece.

Damanakis, M 1997: *He Ekpaideusin ton Palinostounton and Allodapon Matheton sten Hellada-Diapolitismike Prosengise (The Education of Repatriate and Alien Students in Greece: An Intercultural Approach)*. Athens: Gutenberg,

Diamandouros, P. N. 1997: «Greek Politics & Society in the 1990s,». In Allison, G. T., and Nicolaidis, K., eds: *The Greek Paradox*. Cambridge: Mass.: MIT Press, 1997, pp.23-37.

Dimaras, A. 1973-74: *He Metarrythmise pou den Egine (The Reform that Did not Take Place)*. Athens: Hermes,

Dimaras, A.1978: The Movement for Reform: A Historical Perspective, *Comparative Education Review, Vol. 22, No. 1* (February, 1978), pp.11-20.

Eliou, Maria, 1978: Those Whom Reform Forgot, *Comparative Education Review, Vol.22, No.1* (February, 1978), pp.60-70.

Ekpaideusi 2000: Yia Mia Paideia Anoikton Orizonton (Education 2000: Toward a Paideia of Open Horizons).Athens: Ministry of Education and Religions, 1997.

Exarchakos, Th. G.1997: Ekpaideutike Metarrythmise: Anangeotita kai Genikes Arches (Educational Reform: Necessity and General Principles). *Nea Paideia, 83 (Autumn, 1997)*, pp.19-34.

Fotopoulos, T. 1997: *He Nea Diethnis Taxi kai he Ellada (The New International Order and Greece)*. Athens: Kastaniotis

Gorz, Andre 1964: *Strategy for Labor*. Boston: Beacon Press

Green, Andy 1990: *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the USA*. New York: St. Martin's Press

Frangoudaki, A., and Dragona, Th. 1997: *Ti Ein' he Patrida mas; Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaideusi (What is Our Fatherland/Country: Ethnocentrism in Education)*. Athens: Alexandria.

Kassotakis, M.1994: Greece. In Brock, Colin and Tulasiewicz, W., eds. *Education in a Single Europe* , London: Routledge.

Katsikas, Ch. and Kavvadias, G. K. 1994: *He Anisotita stin Elliniki Ekpaideusi: He Exelixi ton Evkairion Prosvasis stin Elliniki Ekpaideuse-1960-94 (Inequality in Greek Education: Developments in the Opportunity for Access into Greek Education)*. Athens: Gutenberg

Katsikas, Ch. and Kavvadias, G.K 1998: *Krisi tou Scholeiou kai Ekpaideutiki Politiki: Kritiki ton Ekpaideutikon Allagon, 1990-97 (The Crisis of Schooling and Educational Policy: A Critique of Educatinal Changes, 1990-97)*. Athens: Gutenberg

Kazamias, A. M. 1974: Education and Modernization in Greece. Washington, D.C.: *O.E. Bureau of Education, No. 7-1111.*

Kazamias, A.M. 1978: The Politics of Educational Reform in Greece: Law 309/1976. *Comparative Education Review, Vo. 22, No. 1* (February, 1978), pp.21-45.

Kazamias, A. M.1983: He Ekpaideutike Krisi stin Ellada kai ta Paradoxa tis: A Hitorical-Comparative Perpective. Athens, *(A reprint from the «Praktika» (Proceedings) of the Academy of Athens), Vol. 58*, pp.415-467.

Kazamias, A.M., and Psacharopoulos, G.1985: *Paideia kai Anaptyxe sten Ellada: Koinonike kai Oikonomike Meleti tes Tritovathmias Ekpaideusis (Education and Developmenta in Greece: Social and Economic Study of Tertiary Education*). Athens: EKKE.

Kazamias, A.M.1990: The Curse of Sisyphus in Greek Educational Reform: A Socio-Political and Cultural Interpretation. *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook, Vol. 6,* pp. 33-53.

Kazamias, A. M., and Kassotakis, M., eds. 1995: *Helliniki Ekpaideusi: Prooptikes Anasynkrotisis kai Eksynchronismou (Greek Education: Perspectives on Reconstruction and Modernization)*. Athens: Seirios.

Muller, D.K., Ringer, F., and Simon Brian 1987: *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Mouzelis, N. 1987: *Koinovouleftismos kai Ekviomihanisi stin Hemiperipheria (Constitutionalism and Industrialization in the Semiperiphery*). Athens: Themelio.

Mouzelis, N. 1992: *Metamarxistikes Prooptikes (Metamarxist Perspectives*). Athens: Themelio

OECD 1982 (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), Reviews of National Policies for Education--Greece. Paris: OECD

OECD 1997 (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), Reviews of National Policies for Education—Greece. Paris: OECD.

Panayiotopoulou, Iris 1993: *He Geographia ton Ekpaideutikon Diaforopoieseon- He Mesi Epangelmatiki Ekpaideusi sti Metapolemiki Ellada (The Geography of Educational Differentiation -Secondary Vocational Education in Postwar Greece)*. Athens: Odysseas.

Saitis, Ch. 1990: Management in the Public Sector in Greece: The Case of the Ministry of Education. *Educational Management and Administration* , Summer, 1990, p. 5.

Samatas, M.M 1988: *Greek Bueaucratism: A System of Socio-Political Control*. Ph.D. Thesis, New York, New School of Social Researach,.

Thomadakis, St 1997: The Greek Economy: Performance, Expectations, & Paradoxes. In Allison, G.T., and Nicolaidis, K., eds: *The Greek Paradox: Promise vs. Performance*. Cambridge: Mass MIT Press, pp.39-60.

Vakalios, Th 1997: *To Provlema tis Diapolitismikis Ekpaideusis sti Dytiki Thraki (The Problem of Intercultural Education in Western Thrace)*. Athens: Gutenberg

Ypourgeio Ethnikis Paideias kai Threskevmaton (Ministry of National Education and Religions), Nomos Plaisio, Yp.Ar. 1566/85 *(Law Framework, No. 1566/85, Organization of Textbook Publications, 1985.*

APPENDIX A

Table 1: Statistics 1993/94 State – Private Education

	Pre-Primary Education		
	Pupils	Teachers	Schools
State	128,835	7,859	5,424
Private	5,487	235	135
	Primary Education		
	Pupils	Teachers	Schools
State	690,201	37,214	6,967
Private	54,341	2,607	411
	Lower Secondary Education		
	Pupils	Teachers	Schools
State	425,937	28,176	1,776
Private	18,102	1,320	90

Of the total number of nursery schools, 875 (15.7%) operate in the Athens area, with 33,307 pupils (24.8%) and 1,537 nursery teachers (18.9%).

Of the total number of primary schools, 1,032 schools (13.7%) operate in the Athens area, with 227,008 pupils (29.1%) and 10,059 teachers (25.9%).

Source: National Statistical Office

Table 2: Statistics 1993/94 – State – Private Education Upper Secondary Education

		Pupils	Teachers	Schools
General Lykeia	State	241,596	16,635	1,099
	Private	13,988	1,094	71
Comprehensive Lykeia	State	22,084	1,878	25
Technical Vocational Lykeia	State	99,075	6,876	273
	Private	15,592	1,760	80
Ecclesiastical Lykeia	State	1,045	102	14
	Private	86	11	1
Technical Vocational Schools (TES)	State	35,902	2,882	56
	Private	4,701	650	209

Source: National Statistical Office.

Table 3: Growth of Educational Enterprise
Student Enrollments 1956-1993

	1956-57	1961-62	1970-71	1980-81	1989-90	1993-93
Pre-primary	-	-	87,087	145,924	141,576	134,332
Primary	936,729	937,853	919,984	900,641	846,948	744,542
Secondary	212,471	291,529	555,709	740,058	845,723	881,280
Tertiary	19,491	30,617	85,776	121,116	267,587	297,813
TOTAL	1,168,691	1,260,002	1,648,556	1,907,739	2,101,384	2,057,967

Source: National Statistical Office

Table 4: Participation in Education – Level and Sex (1989-90)

Level of Education	Number of Pupils	Total Age Cohort	% of enrolled pupils against total age cohort		
			Total	Girls	Boys
Pre–Primary	141,756	245,199	57,8	58,0	57,5
Primary	846,498	872,428	97,0	97,0	97,1
Secondary	845,723	911,456	92,7	90,7	94,6

Age Groups: 4-5, 6-11, 12-17
Source: National Statistical Office

Table 5: Primary Schools According to the Number of Teachers Appointed – 1993-94

Monotaxia	1786	24,3%
Ditaxia	1446	19,6%
Tritaxia	808	11,0%
Tetrataxia	361	4,9%
Pentataxia	159	2,2%
Exataxia and Up	2804	38,1%

Source: Ministry of Education

ICELAND

The Case of Iceland – The first report of the Icelandic group[1]

Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson & Sigurjón Mýrdal

This report is divided into three parts; first, we describe the Icelandic education system, second, we construct a historical context, outline historical trajectories of education and list and discuss recent changes as they relate to ways of governing, and third, we discuss the possible impact of these changes on aspects of cultural integration and social exclusion in Iceland.

The Icelandic context

Iceland is one of the smallest independent states in the world. The population barely exceeds a quarter of a million. As the miniature society has distinct geographical boundaries, culture and documented history it can be perceived as a "whole system", and to a certain extent as a "social laboratory". Iceland is an island located in the middle of nowhere, which makes any geographical or cultural or economic classification uncertain. Historical ties are clearly European, however, at least up to the Second World War. Since then prosperity has been built upon frequently shifting economic transactions with N-America, E-Europe, the European Union and, of late, Japan.

The economy is based on a single resource, fish and fish products; even so the nation enjoys one of the world's highest standards of material living. In 1995, the principal employment sectors were: agriculture, 4.6% of work force; fishing and fishing industry, 11.3%;

[1] The Icelandic group: Gunnar Finnbogason, Ólafur Proppé, Sigurjón Mýrdal, The University College of Education; Thorsteinn Gunnarsson, Ingólfur Ásgeir Jóhannesson, The University of Akureyri; and Guðrún Geirsdóttir, The University of Iceland

industry other than fishing, 10.5%; construction, 6.9%; commerce and repair services, 13.5%; hotel and restaurant, 3.3%; transport and communications, 6.5%; banking and insurance, 3.4%; public administration, 4.4%; real estate and business services, 6.0%; education, 6.5%; health services and social work, 14.8%; others, 8.5%. As of the 1st of April 1997, 3.9% of the work force was unemployed.

Table 1. Unemployment rates according to gender

Unemployment rate	**Male** (%)	**Female** (%)	**Total** (%)
Compulsory education	6.8	5.6	6.0
Upper secondary education	2.5	4.0	3.1
Higher education	-	1.0	0.4
Total	3.6	4.2	3.9

Iceland is a republic with a parliamentary democracy. The President is elected by popular vote for a four-year term. Executive power lies with the cabinet formed by the political parties. The government must have the direct or indirect support of the majority of the Icelandic parliament, which has 63 members. Parliamentary elections are held at intervals of four years or less. 165 municipalities exercise local government. The number of local municipalities has decreased dramatically over a few years.

The modernization and the reconstruction of the state structure have comprised institutional rationalization and social regulation. The Icelandic central state has, especially in the Post World War II era, increased its control of the public sector; i.e. social services and insurance; public health and medicine; public housing projects; public education and schooling. A special case in point is the resurgent sliding of state control into the 'private' fields of industries. Since the 1980s the state has gradually taken over regulation and formal management of the traditional agriculture and fishing industries, through rationalized systems of quotas. Moreover all hydropower and

thermopower resources have been nationalized, making the state a main player in articulation of plans for new industries on the island. Parallels from the economic field can probably be drawn in the cultural field and the field of education. An important facet of this project is to relate cultural and educational policy making to economic environment and industrial relations. Educational restructuring correlates with economic reconstruction.

The 'intrusion of the state' can be detected through discourses of educational legislation and scientifically rationalized educational reform projects, characterized by increased bureaucracy, and constantly more developed social technologies. Study of formal reform efforts in the field of education can thus illuminate changes in state steering.

In the mid-eighties new discourses of deregulation and decentralization can be detected in the field of economics. It might be of interest in this respect that simultaneously the fields of commerce and banking are being deregulated and 'liberalized', e.g. with reference to new contracts with the European Union. Similar trajectories and conjunctures can be detected in the Icelandic educational discourses as in other Western countries. The discourse on educational governance must be related to larger historical trajectories in fields of economics, politics and culture.

The Icelandic school system

The Icelandic school system is divided into four major levels: the pre-school level from approximately two to six years, the elementary school level from six to sixteen, the secondary school level from sixteen to twenty, and the college level from then on (we exclude exceptions).

The pre-school, in Icelandic leikskóli (play school), was determined as the first formal school level as late as 1994. However, play schools are not compulsory. As a rule the municipalities run most play schools, but few are private. Most children in the country now have an access to at least half-day, every-other-day programs. The

municipalities subsidize play schools so that parents do not have pay the full cost.

The primary school is a ten-grade compulsory comprehensive school for the age groups 6-16. They are run by the municipalities. Primary schools were run by the state until 1996, and we discuss this change later. Primary schools are free of charge for parents. Few private primary schools can be found and they are all publicly subsidized.

Table 2. Proportion of children in pre-schools by age group

Year	0-2 yrs (%)	3-5 yrs (%)
1981	9,1	51,6
1985	12,2	59,5
1991	13,7	73,2
1995	23,1	82,5

The secondary schools are run by the state. Most secondary schools are comprehensive schools with lines in math, natural and social sciences, languages, and business, as well as vocational education lines. Almost all of these schools are based on a credit-unit system. A few grammar schools, class-based or credit-unit based, exist as well as vocational schools and colleges of arts.

Table 3. Enrollment rates of cohorts aged 16-19 years (%)

Age	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1995
16	67	65	71	75	77	80	83	85	89	87
17	54	56	61	65	66	68	70	74	77	77
18	49	48	54	56	58	58	63	64	65	68
19	42	47	50	53	55	55	59	61	64	61

The tertiary level consists of three research universities, to which the researchers in this group belong, and several other colleges and institutions. General legislation on the tertiary level was for the first time passed in December 1997.

Further information on the Icelandic educational system can be found on the Internet: http://frodi.stjr.is/mrn/ensk/publ/index.html

Table 4. Number of schools at compulsory, upper secondary and higher education level 1996/97

Number of students	Number of Schools		
	Compulsory	Upper Secondary	Higher
3	>50	54	8
51-100	32	4	3
101-200	33	2	2
201-400	39	7	3
401-600	29	5	0
601-800	8	6	1
801-1000	2	3	0
<1000	0	3	1
Total	197	38	13

Times of Paradigmatic Changes

The modern educational system has taken shape in Iceland during the 20th century. Especially in the post world war era rational governmental measures have been taken to affect cultural direction and social-economic development.

When the first national census was taken in Iceland, in 1703, no urban centers could be counted. In 1880 five per cent of the population lived in towns, in 1920 the figure had risen to 31 %, in 1965 it was 68 % and today the urban population is 85 %. Urbanization has proceeded at such a rapid pace that now more than half of the population of 270 000 lives in or around Reykjavík, the capital. In the same period the standard of living has risen from subsistence level to being one of the world's highest.

Rapid economic development in Iceland through this century, especially during periods of war and military occupation, has contributed to turmoil in the cultural field and tension in the national identity. However, in few, if any, modern western society, is there

such an obvious continuity of identification with the distant past; national history and literature.

As can be imagined, educational institutions and the educational system in Iceland have played an important role in the nation struggle toward modernization and political and cultural independence. Reconstruction of the state apparatus, accompanied by increased international transactions of commodities and ideas shaped a new context of (professional) economic and technological discourses, and subsequently a new field of expertise in culture and education as well.

Changing cultural and economic relations, especially after the Second World War, created a new social/institutional formation, where Iceland faced the world as an independent republic for the first time. Reconstruction of the state apparatus, accompanied by increased international transactions of commodities and ideas shaped a new context of (professional) economic and technological discourses. Subsequently a new field of expertism appeared in culture and education as well. In a wave of cultural and economic reforms in the immediate post war period a general national system of public education was constructed for the first time. This modernization of education drew primarily upon Scandinavian welfare models.

In late sixties and early seventies, educational institutions were reorganized and their role redefined. Teacher education was transformed to university level in 1971. In this trajectory the need for a term to communicate a conception of professionalism and teaching profession for the first time seem to be demanded in the Icelandic language!

In the mid-1980s an still new discourse on educational governance came visible in the Icelandic context, as paradigmatic transformations were taking place in the fields of economics and culture, at international as well as local level. In this conjuncture educational reforms of the seventies came under severe criticism.

During the last two decades of the 20th century the Icelandic society has experienced a cycle/trajectory of educational reforms that can/has to be tied to a 'historical cycle' of global social/economic

reconstruction. Dynamic theme in that discourse, which to a large extent has been formally infused through international organizations, has touched upon the notion of deregulation and decentralization. This trajectory can be detected in vivid efforts to reconstruct key concepts in education: Professionalism, school-based curriculum, institutional evaluation etc.

Educational reforms in Iceland in the Post War Era illuminate dynamics of social/cultural and economic interactions beyond geopolitical boundaries. Local discourses draw upon international transactions, which have to be taken into consideration, when the shifting notions of educational governance are studied.

Relations in the fields of economics and culture in the Icelandic context are a indication of global transformations taking place in the fields of economics and culture in the Post War Era. The Icelandic society is located in a fairly complex web of social/historical; economic and cultural trajectories. In fact the multiple transformations taking place in Iceland in this cycle have to be situated in a wider perspective of changing global relations.

Recent changes in governing, some examples

Obvious changes in governing structures have taken place at all four school levels in this decade. We only summarize here a few examples which we consider important for our project:

a) Perhaps the most obvious change in governing structures of education for the time being is the change in the primary school system when the municipalities took over the economic and administrative responsibilities in 1996. The time since then is of course too short to evaluate the character of the impact of that change.

   Many people have been worried that this decentralization will severely affect children of rural areas that are poor or communities that do not emphasize education.

The legislation change of the primary school in 1995 requested all schools to compose school-based curricula and develop methods of self-evaluation. We like to discuss what impact this has on the work in school institutions, especially the normalizing effects that it does have on the school professional staff that are responsible for the self-evaluation. It has been observed that the work of teachers is becoming increasingly complex.

The social conditions seem to encourage parents to work long hours which makes the child more dependent on the school as a place to receive emotional support. More and more children are analyzed as having special needs, and there thus appears to be more need for cooperation between teachers and others about such special needs. This social situation places stress on teachers as never before. At the same time, the law is clear on the professional responsibility of each teacher. The state sets a basic curriculum, but teachers decide within that framework how they teach, including the materials they use.

Professionally, principals are responsible to the Ministry of Culture and Education, for the development of a school-based curriculum. School-based curricula have been written in a few schools from about 1990, but most schools are not sufficiently equipped to perform this task. School-based curricula seem to be important for schools to be able to perform the task of self-evaluation.

We do not know at this point if the self-evaluation will be governed through very strict guidelines from the Ministry of Culture and Education, in spite of what the law says about that schools should develop their own professional methods. The three research universities, as well as other professional institutes, run by the municipalities, are now beginning to compete in how they assist primary schools in this task. Such processes will be very interesting to observe during the next three years.

b) Similar discourse of self-evaluation is increasing at the pre-school level. At the same time professional education of pre-school

teachers is being raised to university level. This is of interest as pre-school teachers and the pre-school staff in general seem to originate from different pedagogical and administrative traditions than the primary school teachers. Due to the institutional culture of the preschool level, it appears easier in many respect to introduce here for example the discourse of Total Quality Management.

c) Secondary schools are run by the central state and parallel procedures of school-based curricula and internal and external evaluation have been mandated at the secondary level as at the primary level.

Contract management is a new form of administration of schools that has been most vividly related to the secondary school level. One pioneer school and the Ministry of Culture and Education have made a contract about the educational objectives that the school should try to reach in a certain time as well on the autonomy and financial contributions that the school receives toward that goal. This contract establishes a framework for the school and the ministry to work within. More secondary schools are supposed to follow this path of management.

The general goal of the contract management arrangement is to orchestrate more effective institutions. Also to make more efficient use of the budget that the school receives for salary, educational resources, etc. In the case of a pioneer school, Kvennaskólinn in Reykjavík, the goals of the contract include more teacher professionalism, better service for students, and better information systems internally and externally. Kvennaskólinn also has taken on, as part of the contract, to define for the ministry, norms for school evaluation processes as well as the school will be evaluated.

The second largest town, Kópavogur, adjacent to Reykjavík, has now signed contracts of a similar sort with three of its primary schools. Similar contracts between the Ministry and the University institutions are being discussed.

d) The tertiary level in Iceland has been in turmoil for a decade or so. Some colleges have gradually been transferred to tertiary level,

without enjoying the formal conventions of academic culture in administration, teaching or research. Besides the old University of Iceland and the University College of Education, the University of Akureyri was established in rural settings in 1987. In January 1998 four colleges were amalgamated in a new University College of Education. Graduate studies have been emphasized in Icelandic universities in the 1990s. Discourse on two private universities (in the fields of Commerce and the Arts) is under way.

The Ministry of Culture and Education has ordered external evaluation in the last few years in various college programs at the university level. Currently the teacher education programs for elementary and secondary schoolteachers in the three universities are being evaluated.

In sum

We believe the contract management arrangement, as a measure of educational governance, will have a great impact. The discourse on accountability seems to align nicely with discourses on educational decentralization, teacher professionalism, school-based curricula and institutional evaluation. This in turn brings us to the key concepts of cultural integration, social inclusion/exclusion.

Issues of inclusion and exclusion

The issues of inclusion and exclusion can be detected at various layers of discourse and need to be clarified in this project. Also various social categories to study governmentality and exclusion/integration can be determined. In the Icelandic case the most obvious are the social categories of location (rural/urban); gender; origin (native/immigrant); economic class; and physical and mental handicap.

The educational systems are fundamental to cultural integration and historically have inclusive as well as exclusive functions in societies. In the Icelandic case we can design historical cycles where

the emphasis shifted on integration and segregation of social categories. In the current cycle we mention a few examples for elaboration in our project.

a) Seeing pre-schools as a formal school level is one way of integrating more children socially. Formalization of state institutions at this school level did not happen until recently. Not so many years ago, so-called day care centres (full day) were mostly for the children of single mothers and students. With a name change in 1990 to play schools, a change in emphasis toward play as the method of instruction, and including more children, more children are formally socialized. Prior to these changes, many children, especially those of the middle class, attended half-day play schools. Now more working-class children and children in the rural areas can attend play schools.
b) Integration of physically and developmentally disabled children into schools at all four school levels is a recent priority task. While interesting developments are taking place at the secondary and tertiary levels, we believe that the changes of governing at the primary level are very interesting to observe. We already have examples where small or rural municipalities have difficulties financially and politically implementing the policy of integration. We would also like to discuss and observe if there is a social integration indeed rather than just physical inclusion and relate those observations to the discourses of social integration and exclusion.
c) An issue of integration relates to the transfer of students between play school and primary school. Traditionally this has been a gap. In relation to "universitization" of pre-school teachers, discussions between the two groups of teachers in pre-schools and primary schools can be detected. We would like to observe various issues, including if such integration is easier in smaller communities.
d) At the end of the primary school, there has been a state-centralized examination in four subject areas, Icelandic, Mathematics, Danish,

and English. Every student has taken these exams and theoretically finished the primary school. Now there is a discussion in the Ministry of Culture and Education to change this situation, making such final exam optional. We will observe the impact on integration and exclusion of changes herein.

e) One of the big issues of exclusion in Iceland appears to be the division between the capital city area in the southwest and the rest of the country. Roughly 80 % of the population lives in about one-hour distance from Reykjavík, and this proportion has been increasing. We do not know if this issue is the biggest one of inequality in the country; but it certainly claims a large space in the political discourse.

Various measures have been taken to include individuals from rural areas into further education. In the late 1960s, rural area grants were introduced to students in secondary schools for students to be better able to attend. In the 1970s and the 1980s, comprehensive schools were established in most parts of the country to provide greater and easier access to secondary education. In the 1970s, a system of study loans was designed to equalize access to college education as well as various vocational schools attended by adult students. While that system did not especially cater to individuals from rural areas, it can be said that it was more important to them than to individuals having their families of origin in the Reykjavík-area.

All these measures were to recruit individuals into educational institutions. But in many cases they did not move back to their farm, village, or town. This has been understood as a major threat to the community if elementary and later secondary school "succeed in educating the village away".

We can see the establishment of the University of Akureyri in 1987 in light of this. Also the offering of a full-scale four-year (90 credits) distance education program at the University College of Education is of interest in this respect. Smaller colleges are also located outside the Reykjavík area. The discursive hypothesis is that the characteristics of

education outside Reykjavík, as well as distance education, are radically different, and that these programs will sustain different settlements around the country. Recently, the parliament has accepted a proposal about a college center in the rural East where the largest towns have fewer than 2000 inhabitants, hardly supporting an independent college. We would like to investigate the discourse thereon.

Further we could look into various aspects of the Icelandic educational context; for example (as mentioned before) the issues of gender, integration of immigrants, providence of educational material, vocational education, distance education and temporary rural campuses for tertiary education.

Last remark

In the Post WWII period the educational system has had an overtly integrating function in the Icelandic society. In the last decade or so it appears as though the winds might be shifting in the social/cultural arena as fundamental concepts of integration, equality and nationality are being reconstituted. The delicate balance of inclusion and exclusion is constantly transforming. This is what we want to explore in the Icelandic case and relate it to parallel trajectories eroding in other spaces of the global economy.

References

Finnbogason, Gunnar 1995: En forskningsprocess sätts igång. Beslut om ny isländs grundskola 1974: [Starting Research Process. Decision Making and the Icelandic Compulsory School Reform of 1974.]. In Tomas Englund et.al. (Ed.) *Kunskap - Organisation - Demokrati. [Knowledge - Organizations - Democracy.]*

Finnbogason, Gunnar 1995: *Från utbildningsplanering till kursplaner. Den Isländska grundskolereformen 1974. [From Educational Planning to Syllabuses. The Icelandic Compulsory School Reform 1974.]* Doctoral dissertation. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Uppsala Studies in Education 59.

Geirsdóttir, Guðrún 1996: *Looking at the development of the Educational System in Iceland from 1880-1996 through the Social Studies.* Masters Thesis. The Pennsylvania State University.

Gunnarsson, Thorsteinn 1990: *Controlling Curriculum Knowledge: A Documentary Study of the Icelandic Social Science Curriculum Project (SSCP) 1974-1984.* Doctoral Dissertation. Ohio University, Athens. UMI 9024120.

Jóhannesson, Ingólfur Á. 1991: *The Formation of Educational Reform as a Social Field in Iceland and the Social Strategies of Educationists, 1966-1991.* Doctoral dissertation. The University of Wisconsin, Madison, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, 1991. UMI 9123842

Jóhannesson, Ingólfur Á. 1983: *Elementary Schooling in Iceland 1908-1958.* Cand. mag. thesis in history. Univ. of Iceland Publ. 1983. Sec. ed. 1984

Mýrdal, Sigurjón 1989: *International Organization and Educational Ideas; a Case of Educational Reforms in Iceland.* Master thesis University of Wisconsin – Madison.

Mýrdal, Sigurjón 1996: Teacher Professionalism and National Culture. The Case of Iceland. In H. Simola & T. Popkewitz (Eds.): *Professionalization and Education; Research Report 169.* Department of Teacher Education, University of Helsinki.

Proppé, Ólafur J 1983: *A Dialectical Perspective on Evaluation as Evolution: A Critical View on Assessment in Icelandic Schools. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Xerox University Microfilms.* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana). 418 pp.

Proppé Ólafur, Mýrdal, Sigurjón & Daníelsson, Bjarni, 1993: Change and Regulation in Icelandic Teacher Education. In Thomas S, Popkewitz (Ed): *Changing Patterns of Power: Social Regulation and Teacher Education Reform.* New York: State University of New York Press (SUNY).

==========

The Educational System in Iceland; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture

http://frodi.stjr.is/mrn/uppl/rit/edu/index.html

Targeted Socio-Economic Research Programme Workprogramme - 1997 1998 (Final version -27/06/97)

http://www.cordis.lu/tser/src/answercp.htm

PORTUGAL

The Portuguese Case

António Nóvoa, Natália Alves & Rui Canário

Introduction

The analysis of the configurations assumed by the relation between educational policies and the integration/exclusion phenomena implies the construction of a multifaceted view. It has to take into account the social, political, economic, cultural and historical factors conferring a singular identity to the Portuguese social formation.

National historical development and the semi-peripheral position it occupies in the world system contribute in a decisive way for the Portuguese society to present a set of specific social characteristics, in some ways unique. This singularity meets its expression, among other features, in the hegemonic position the State occupies in the social regulation processes and in the deficit of legitimacy it simultaneously tackles with. In the field of education, its singularity is manifest in the time coincidence of both mass schooling moments: the consolidation one and the moment of its crisis. As Boaventura Sousa Santos says, It is as if mass schooling in Portugal has entered its crisis even before it reaches its full development

In this context, the complex relationship between educational policies and integration and exclusion phenomena has to be analyzed in the light of the democratizing, opportunity equality rhetoric, on the one hand, and the discourse on modernization, on the other hand. The former legitimizes the consolidation of mass schooling and the integrating school project, the latter supports the construction of managerial and mercantilist solutions to respond to the school crisis

151

and pioneers the emergence of new forms of differentiation and segregation inside school.

Reflection on this issue also requires it to be placed in the wider context of the social transformations of contemporary societies. These are marked by a paradoxical situation where the emergence of different forms of social exclusion comes together with a continuous increase of school qualifications and with the re-configuration of the "social issue" that replaces the traditional conflict between labor and capital with the dualistic fracture between integrated and excluded. Yet, the analysis of the production of school exclusion also requires the recognition of the centrality of the social actor through the sense he assigns to schoolwork and to the relation he establishes with knowledge.

In this report, we analyze, in a necessarily brief way, the evolution of Portuguese society in the last few decades, taking its specificity with origin in a semi-peripheral position in the world system as a reference. By having this specificity and recent history as a starting-point, in a second stage we analyze the way the relation between integration and segregation has been built in the Portuguese educational system. In a third section, we describe the structure of the national educational system while we try to highlight some of the most relevant features of each of the education grades. This description is followed by a first approach to the analysis of the educational discourses that support and legitimize some of the educational policies carried out in the last few decades. Finally, we enunciate the guidelines that have led the reflection of the Portuguese team on the issue of educational governance and social integration/exclusion.

The social and economic context

Portugal is one of the most ancient nation-states on the European continent and it is the one that has kept its frontiers unaltered for the longest period. However, the last few decades mark a period of deep changes in the Portuguese social formation. In less than thirty years

Portugal experienced the fall of the most ancient conservative authoritarian regime of western Europe, in 1974; Portugal has lost its condition of the most ancient colonial empire; joined the EEC in 1986 and in 1998 the group of State-members that fulfil the convergence criteria for the adoption of a single currency. Along with these transformations, Portugal has been re-negotiating its semi-peripheral position in the world system.

Portuguese singularity as a semi-periphery country is characterized by Boaventura Sousa Santos based on the existence of an "articulate uncoincidence between capitalist production relations and social reproduction relations" (1985, 872). In his opinion, it leads to the co-existence of underdeveloped capitalist production relations and consumer patterns and social rights close to those existing in the central countries. But Portuguese semi-periphery is also manifest in its intermediate degree of development and in the mediation function Portugal plays between the center and the periphery of the world system. This position demands from Portugal to act as a peripheral country with relation to the central countries and as central with relation to periphery (Santos, 1993). After the 1974 revolution and the "overseas" colonies independence process a deep change arises in the mediation function Portugal has developed during centuries: Portugal stops acting like periphery towards England and like center towards the colonies. However, proximity to the European space, the following adhesion to EEC and the relations with Portuguese-speaking Africa countries contribute to the maintenance of our country's peripheral position, although re-configured.

The 1974 revolution does not confine itself to this change only. It will also lead to a deep inner crisis that will affect all social activity domains and is coincident to the overall crisis of the dominant Fordist regulation mode (Boyer, 1986) in the central countries since the end of II World War.

Although it is not possible to speak of the diffusion of the Fordist regulation mode in the Portuguese social formation during the "Estado

153

Novo"[1], the 50's and 60's mark a period of strong economic growth during which the following happened: the diffusion of the industrialization process; recess of agricultural activities; economy tertiarization; opening outwards; growth and consolidation of big economic groups; rural exodus[2] increase of real wages; increasingly strong medium classes; improvement in some indicators for social welfare and individual consumption (Lopes, 1996).

In spite of this development burst, when the "Estado Novo" fell, Portuguese society faced serious structural problems in the economic and social fields. Concerning social affairs underdevelopment was particularly evident in the fields of education, health, social security and protection to ill-favored groups. In fact, even during the economic growth period budget policy of the "Estado Novo" kept being oriented by budget deficit control at the cost of current expenditure constraint in essential domains like education, health and social security. Contrarily to what happened in most western countries in the post-war period, in Portugal economic growth was not connected to the emergence of the Welfare State or to the expansion of social policies having the Welfare State as a reference.

The change of regime in 1974 led not only to a crisis in the regulation mode of the cooperative State but also to a crisis in the accumulation regime (Santos, 1993). New institutions and social practice created during the revolutionary period have not granted

---

[1] Estado Novo is the name assigned to the period between 1926 and 1974, during which a sole party totalitarian political regime has ruled.

[2] This rural depopulation is the result of two migration movements: one towards littoral where the most dynamic and employment developing economic activities could be found; Anita one towards European countries, mainly France. One estimates that about 1,4 million Portuguese have abandoned the country between 1960 and 1973. This figure calls the attention for the importance of the migration phenomenon in the Portuguese social formation. In the economic field this factor and colonial war are held to be responsible for the active population decrease and the salary increase. Along with these features, emigrant deliveries will happen to play a fundamental role in the balance of current account and in the improvement of the living standard of the non-emigrant family members. From the social point of view, emigrants happen to play a decisive role in the change of life style of inland rural population.

intensive accumulation of monopolist capital, despite being formally similar to those of the central countries Fordist mode of regulation. On the contrary, they have inscribed themselves in a wider project whose goal was its own dismantling. After the 1974 revolution, economic policy seeks to accomplish two main objectives: to manage changes in productive structures developed for the sake of the construction of a classless socialist society and to implement social policy neglected by the laid-down regime. In this new context the following happens: social security expansion to a greater number of beneficiaries; creation of the national health service, unemployment benefits and national minimum wage; increase in retirement pensions; consolidation of the expansion of the educational system; etc. In other words, some of the characteristics conferring the Welfare State its specificity developed in Portugal only after 1994, precisely the period when in the central countries the first signs of their own crises happened to be felt. It was based on a process through which current expenditure with social policy has unbounded the accumulation process[3].

However economic crisis aggravation and State debt were decisive factors for the assuming of a clearly capitalist State playing a central role in social regulation since 1976. Yet, as Sousa Santos argues, "distributive policies quick re-entailment to the availability or demands of the process of capital accumulation imposed unpopular measures and therefore the risk of loss of social legitimacy" (1990, 224). Facing the discrepancy between the institutional forms of regulation and the accumulation and unable to change the law, the State adopts a policy away from its own laws and institutions. In this context, there develops what the same author calls a "Parallel State". This has assumed several forms: the State tolerates law breaking; it either does not apply laws or selectively applies them; it doesn't regulate the laws, wholly or partially, in a way to block its application; it either does not create the institutions to be charged with putting

---

[3] In the education field, for instance, current expenditure with education as a percentage of GDP shifted from 1, 73% in 1973 to 3, 86 % in 1977.

legislated social policies into practice or does not budget them. "The Parallel State is therefore the political configuration of some disjunction or discrepancy in the social mode of regulation, according to which Fordist regulation mode doesn't in practice correspond to a Fordist wage relation" (Santos 1993, 32).

A new cycle of economic growth begins with adhesion to the EEC in 1986. Canalization of structural funds to Portugal along with the existence of a particularly favorable international conjuncture have contributed to the retaking of public investment and private consuming, employment and real wage increase and maintenance of rights assured by the Welfare State. However, the continued existence of traditional poverty situations along with the emergence of new forms of poverty and social exclusion contributed to keeping and in some cases aggravating the dual structure of the Portuguese social formation. European integration had not been able to contain it and neo-liberal policies and the 90's economic recession had aggravated it.

Permanent tension between the need to re-link social policies to the process of capital accumulation along with the risk of loss of social legitimacy is responsible for the ambiguous character of the construction of Welfare State in Portugal. Besides, as argued by Almerindo Afonso (1997, p 142), the recent history of the conquest of social rights, its prevalent weakness and low scope as well as the heterogeneous character of the Portuguese State in the last decades are factors that explain the existence of a contradictory movement during center-right governments in consonance with their political and economic neo-liberal orientation. This movement is characterized by the expansion of some rights linked to the Welfare State concept, on the one hand, and by a flexibility trend, on the other hand.

The educational context: integration versus segregation

During the "Estado Novo" investment in school as an ideological inculcation and social control instance confers it a strongly segregating dimension. It will carry on as one of the distinctive features of the Portuguese educational system up to middle 70's.

The conservative right has always envisaged social segregation as natural, as a characteristic inherent to any social formation. In this context, one of political power's most effective strategies to assure social conformation was the resort to segregationist educational policies, in terms of gender or social origin. As Filomena Mónica says (1978, 173) "Salazar's view of society as an immutable hierarchic structure led to a different conception of the role to be played by school. It was not meant to function as an agency for professional allocation or detection of intellectual merit but as an indoctrination device. Besides, according to Salazar, there was no need to justify economic inequalities because they were inevitable and instituted by God".

Segregating character of Salazarist school begins to be drafted in the 30's through the adoption of a strategy of teaching separation, reflected in sex and social groups separation and strongly manifest in measures taken against coeducation and comprehensive school principles (Nóvoa, 1992, 458). Simultaneously, syllabus reduction and the assertion of education primacy envisaged as conscience forming render investment in education difficult, as a social mobility site, and strengthen social conformation logic.

Cultural, social and economical changes resulting from the 50's and 60's developing burst introduce a significant change in current educational policies. The technical-instrumental conception of education emphasizes the role played in the formation of a qualified labor force in response to the needs of the current industrialization process. Adhesion to this conception and shifting of the main responsibilities for the social order maintenance to the repressive devices of State allow the educational system to partially divest from the ideological inculcation process.

In this new context, an extension of compulsory education happens: 4 years at first, in 1960, and 6 years afterwards in 1964. Yet, scholarship extension does not attenuate the strong cleavage between those who fulfill compulsory education and dropouts, nor does it attenuate the strong inner educational system's segregation either. By

consecrating three different ways to fulfill compulsory education, it functions as a first instance for the concretion of the different individual and social destinies. For those who do not intend to go on studying, the six-year school education comprehends attendance to a first four-year elementary cycle and to a two-year complementary cycle. Those who intend to go on studying can chose one of two different options after four-year compulsory education: a lyceum or a technical option. However, this strategy for differentiation of compulsory education fulfillment is contradicted a short time afterwards. The creation of the preparatory cycle for secondary education in 1967 meant to merge the first two years of both options may be considered as a feeble attempt to introduce the comprehensive school philosophy in the Portuguese educational system. Yet, despite the changes, the dual character of the Portuguese educational system keeps unaltered: it is due to the lyceum the elite education while the education of craftsmen and technicians is due to the technical school.

The democratic regime settlement is accompanied by the intransigent defense of the comprehensive school. The technical education extinction and the creation of the unified education confer visibility to a radically different conception of education. It turns to be considered as a fundamental device for the construction of more just and egalitarian democratic society. One of the main objectives after 25th April 1974 is the construction of an integrating school prepared to attenuate social and sexual cleavages to promote equality of opportunities and to strive against social inequality. To fulfill this goal the claim is for a centralizing State able to attenuate the differences inherent to both types of school, which were held to be inequality-generating schools. After the middle 80's, the idea that equal education for everyone is materialized through the integration of school in a local and diverse educational market begins to settle. Simultaneously, "The State, pointing to the urgent need to make the Portuguese educational system flexible, argues that there should be a compromise between the goal of equal opportunity, on the one hand, and the demands of economic modernization, on the other" (Gomes,

1996, 36). Continuous tension between these two poles is one of the most significant features of the latest educational policies. Under the threat of losing social legitimacy, the State is obliged to assure the social right to education and to promote constitutionally consecrated access and success equality. On the other hand, economic globalization and internationalization, along with an extraordinarily deficient[4] school qualification structure lead the State to defend the need for the educational system to play an active role in the constitution of qualified labor force capable of assuring increasing competition in national economy. In this context, some Programs are introduced whose main objective is the promotion of an integrating school capable of assuring the fulfillment of compulsory school and educational achievement for all those who attend it. Simultaneously, educational policy and economic policy become closer and in some cases, there is a process of subordination of the former to the latter. This movement leads to the inner segmentation and differentiation of the educational system, by falling back upon vocationally characterized measures.

Educational governance through "specific programs"

The co-existence of these two lines of orientation of the educational policies in the last few decades emerges as an attempt to respond to the demands of the mass schooling consolidation process, on the one hand, and to the crisis of this same school, on the other hand. To face the State school crisis in conformity to what happened in the central countries, relations between school education and labor market reframe themselves. To consolidate mass schooling some programs are introduced whose main goal is to assure a longer presence of young people in the educational system and which have emerged from

[4] According to data from the Ministry of Education, 74% of the Portuguese aged between 15 and 64 only possess 6 school education years while those who have taken a degree do not exceed 5%.

an educational governance model that lays hold of specific programs to solve urgent educational problems.

In the middle 80's, educational failure reached such high values[5] that rendered the unsuccessfulness of the primacy of equality of opportunities socially unacceptable. The government publicly assumed this phenomenon as an alarming dimension phenomenon. Therefore, the Interministerial Programme for the Promotion of Educational Achievement (PIPEA) was approved in 1987. Enlisted in the line of compensatory education, its strategies aimed to attenuate unfavorable social-educational conditions and improve educational service. However, despite the high financial, material and human resources, its results were far beyond the expectations: it has not fulfilled a significant part of the objectives; it has not been able to significantly invert failure and dropout trends; it has not left behind it structures capable of giving continuity to the educational policies that had revealed themselves as adequate (Afonso, 1997, 146-148).

In 1991, a new program is set forth. It aims to make Portuguese society aware of the need and relevance of an education for everyone. The Program for the Education for All aimed, in its firs phase, to ensure the fulfillment of a successful nine-year schooling; in a second phase, its main objective was to promote generalized frequency and access to basic or secondary education. However, this Program is at the same time a structuring element of a strategy aiming to "consolidate public school" (Stoer, 1994, 21) and a follower of a modernization rhetoric that advocates the educational system's fitness to demands in technological innovations and in labor market changes. At the same time, it renders school the responsibility to act locally in order to prevent dropouts. As in the former Program, this one is also far from achieving the proposed objectives. At the end of its first phase, the fact that one fifth of the students drop out of school is elucidative of the distance between the expected objectives and what was achieved.

---

[5] In 1985, failure rates in the first schooling years reached 50% in some municipalities.

Evidence that failure and dropouts fall selectively upon school enrolled students and particularly upon ethnic minorities resident in Portugal led to set forth the Project for Intercultural Education in 1993. Portugal is held to be one of the most mono-cultural and monolingual countries in Europe: in 1991, foreigners took 1.6% of the whole population in the census. Yet, when we take school population into account this percentage gets higher, reaching 6.3% of the whole school population in basic and secondary education in 1994/95 (Souta, 1997). Nevertheless, it is far from the values presented in most European countries. Yet, despite its low numerical dimension, the right to education, namely educational achievement is far from being granted to a significant percentage of students from ethnic minorities. Like the former Programs, this one also follows the strategy of mass school consolidation, open to all despite their social or ethnic origin or gender. But once again the results are far from corresponding to the raised expectations: both failure rates and dropout rates keep reaching much higher values than those of the whole school population (Souta, 1997).

Priority Intervention Educational Territories (PIET) is one of the most recent educational policies measures. As in the case of the other Programs, this one also aims to strive against school failure, dropouts, and social exclusion. Recovering a tradition that goes back to English experiences in the 60's and to French ones put into practice in early 80's this measure falls back upon a positive discrimination strategy in the resources allocation process and follows one trend that believes in territorialized educational policies as a means to ensure the development of an education based upon principles like equality of opportunities and social solidarity (Canário, 1997, 109).

Along with these Programs, despite their low results, that can be considered as an attempt to ensure a social right fulfillment inherent to the Welfare State, other policy measures are set forth in the Portuguese educational system oriented towards the consolidation of a new vocationalism (Stoer, Stoleroff and Correia, 1990). As these authors refer, this new vocational orientation has a new

instrumentalism and a new economicism implicit in State tutelage considering the relation between the educational system and the labor market. It is manifest in the whole process of reconstruction of the vocational range in the educational system of which technical-vocational education (1993), Apprenticeship System (1984), and the Vocational Schools are constituents (1989). By claiming modernization needs, all these types of education aim to form a qualified labor force capable of effectuating the Portuguese economic modernization process and affording a qualifying insertion of the young people in the labor market. At the same time, they defend the need to strengthen the relations between school and active life. In this context, "democratic school is at risk of merging into the subordination of the educational policy to an economic policy whose main role is the adjustment of the Portuguese economic system to changes in the international labor force" (Stoer et al., 1990, 47). As the Apprenticeship Program was regarded as an alternative for the accomplishment of compulsory education, it presents itself as a first attempt to introduce new segregation and differentiation modes in basic education in the Portuguese educational system.

The Portuguese educational system

The Bases for the educational system, approved in 1986, consecrate the right of all the Portuguese to education and culture, assigning the State the duty to promote education democratization, by ensuring the right to a just and effective equality of opportunity for access to education and academic achievement. Among these principles, free of charge basic education, support and complementary educational measures, social and health welfare and vocational and school orientation confer the State increasing responsibilities in the educational field and denote an expansion in the rights to be linked to the Welfare State (Afonso, 1997, 144).

Despite all the efforts to re-subject social policies to economic growth conditions, late acquisition of these rights and the increase in social expectations have contributed to lead the Portuguese State,

under the risk of loss of legitimacy, not to reduce public investment in education even in periods of deeper economic crisis. In this context, public investment in education both measured as a percentage of GDP or as a percentage of current expenditure has practically continuously gone up from the 70's up to our days[6].

Pre-School education

From 1974 onwards pre-school education is considered a constituent part of the educational system with optional attendance. The pre-school education network is made up of specialized institutions, provided by central, regional or local authorities, or by other groups or individuals such as parents' and residents' associations, civil and church organizations, etc. The state is obligated to ensure the existence of a pre-school education network and to support the pre-school establishments integrated into the state education network.

Pre-school education is one of the segments of the educational system that has been subject to a higher growth in the last few years[7]. In 1996/97 school year about 57% of children aged between 3 and 5 were enrolled in this education level. Chosen as one of the priorities of the national educational policy since middle 80's, pre-school education has been identified as a strategic element essential in the battle against school failure. It integrated the political agenda both in center-right government and in current socialist government. But, while being invested with a fundamental role in the promotion of a higher equality of opportunities this education level is also one of the educational fields where neo-liberally oriented policies introduced during the center-right government have made their effects more visible. In fact, to an increasing demand the State responds by opening this education level to private initiative. This educational level's privatization is evident in the significant growth of private education.

---

[6] In 1972, current expenditure in education corresponded to 1,90% of GDP and to 10,94% of the total current expenditure.

[7] Between 1985 and 1997, pre-school education recorded a growth of about 40%.

In 1985 and 1997 the relative weight of the private education shifts from 26.9% to 57%.

Under the motto "less State, more society" and integrated in a global strategy to reduce the social role of the State, public service transference to the private sector has assumed a peculiar form, namely in respect to this educational level. Following a way of acting similar to the one reported by Boaventura Sousa Santos, when he analyses the transference of the social welfare for the aged and handicapped people to the private sector, disinvestment in state schools has been accompanied by the support and finance both of private establishments and, mainly, of non-lucrative institutions. Under the signature of specific contracts, these institutions take the responsibility for this educational supply. The hegemonic and strongly regulating role the State plays both upon these institutions — semi-state institutions, according to the author (Santos 1993, 46) — and upon the rest of the private education establishments (Estêvão, 1996, 1997) confers this privatization process a specificity of its own. In a way, this specificity keeps this process away from the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon one.

Basic Education

Basic Education lasts nine years. It corresponds to compulsory education and covers the ages of six to fifteen. It is made up of three cycles: the first cycle (4 years) covers general education, taught by one teacher; the second and third cycles last for 2 or three years, respectively, with one teacher per subject-matter or group of subject-matters. Contrarily to what happens in pre-school education, basic education is almost entirely provided by the State schools[8].

Assessment permits retention/reprobation of the students in any school year, except for the first. Students who accomplish basic

[8] In 1996/97, only 9,5% of the pupils enrolled in Basic Education attended private schools.

education are awarded a compulsory education diploma at the end of the third cycle.

All students are subject to a national curriculum. The existence of a uniform curriculum in compulsory education has been an unquestionable fact until the 1996/97 school year. Up to a recent past, the comprehensive school has been considered a right granted by the 74 revolution and it has been considered one of the main guarantees for the democratization of the educational system and the promotion of equality of opportunities. Yet, the first clearly assumed attempt to differentiate curriculum in compulsory education was set forth last year. The introduction of alternative curricula opens a gap in the curriculum monolithism of this educational level and raises one of the most inflamed controversies in the education field. Political power envisages alternative curricula as an exceptional measure to combat school failure and dropouts. It meets its legitimization source in the rhetoric of the equality of opportunities. Yet, this measure is also due to what Rui Canário (1998) called of evil chose the least logic. This exceptional measure elects as target-groups at-risk children with "problematic learning characteristics", due to "family, economic or psychological — lack of motivation — reasons". By invoking their origin in the differentiation pedagogy, alternative curricula permit the construction of a curriculum framework pretending to be more flexible and adjustable to the specific characteristics of these students, in which, naturally, a pre-vocational component is not missing. Although apparently oriented to the promotion of the equality of opportunities, they have been strongly criticized because of the segregation and stigmatization they can cause. The alternative curricula belong to what has been known as smooth exclusion strategies (Rogovas-Chaveau, Chaveau, 1993). In this very case, it tends to accumulate the "segregative effects of the existence of a range of depreciated education with the 'spatial' segregative effect (Henriot-Van Zanten, 1996) linked to policies for the selection and enlistment of its population from among the education establishments" (Canário, 1998, 26).

Secondary Education

Secondary Education is not compulsory and lasts three years, corresponding to the 10th, 11th, and 12th schooling years. Secondary Education admits a diversified range of paths: general education courses and technological courses supplied in the secondary education schools; vocational courses supplied in vocational schools and Apprenticeship level III courses supplied in vocational training centers. Although all of them allow access to higher education, only general education courses are assumed as dominantly oriented to the continuation of studies, according to the Bases for the Educational System. All the others elect as their main goal integration into active life.

Secondary education is one of the educational system segments where higher growth has been manifest[9]; although schooling rates of the young people aged between 15 and 17 have been the lowest of the EU countries[10].

Distribution of students enrolled in the secondary education in all different courses[11] shows radically different attraction potentialities and vocational supplies' difficulty in assuming itself as an alternative in the access to higher education worth credit and social consideration. Modernization rhetoric legitimizes these vocational ranks. Yet, in the context of the Portuguese social formation as happens in the center countries, they are the result of our adherence to strategies aiming to respond to the Fordist accumulation model and mass school crises by reformulating the schooling-labor market relation. Considering the

---

[9] The number of students enrolled in secondary education shifted from 289 837 in 1984/85 to 440 377 in 1993/94. From this school year on, the number of students has been continuously increasing because of a drop in the birth rate. The number of students in 1996/97 was 427 409.

[10] According to OECD 1995 data (1997, 165), schooling rates were 88% for 15 year-olds and 73% for 16 and 17 year-olds.

[11] in 1993/94, students enrolled in the secondary education were distributed as follows: General education courses or equivalent – 76%; technological courses or equivalent – 17,7%; vocational courses – 5%; Apprenticeship level III courses

low social demand they inspire, they are also a good example of the distance between political power intentions and social considerations. In other words, vocational and technological ranks' low weight in post-compulsory education is an indicator of the dissonance between agreement to neo-liberal orientations and the diffusion of a true educational neo-liberalism in Portugal.

Higher education

Higher education is divided into polytechnic and university education. Admittance in higher education is subject to numerus clausus. In State education, each institution's managing board sets vacancies. In private establishments, the Ministry of Education sets vacancies, under the higher education institutions' proposition. This education segment has suffered the deepest changes during the last few years: expansion, supply diversification, feminization, and privatization. Within a decade (1984/1985 – 1993/1994), the number of enrolled students has shifted from 120 573 to 276 534.

This growth happened to consolidate the trend towards feminization of school population in higher education. Despite the strong asymmetries in the sex composition of the different courses, female presence in higher education reached 54.2% in 1993/1994. Besides their numerical supremacy girls also show better school performances: 63 % of the 33 913 graduates were women.

However, despite higher education's quantitative expansion some already call "excessive democratization of the University", social origin keeps being the sociographic attribute that most discriminates students in this education level and most influences their choice (Cabrito, 1997).

As happened in the other education levels, higher education did not stay away from neo-liberal-trended policies of the center-right governments. Access to private initiative, manifest in private establishments' weight in 1984/85 and 1993/94[12], is a good example

[12] Relative weight of private education shifted from 13,4 % in 1984/85 to 34,1 % in 1993/94.

of this. Yet, despite some praise of the virtues of private education, privatization of higher education cannot help being considered as a stratagem adopted by the State to avoid a crisis of legitimacy. The gap between the ever increasing social demand and an insufficient public supply lead to a brutal restraint to school trajectories and to the expectations of a great number of youngsters. In this context, "non-admittance to university couldn't help being accompanied by a brutal deception and therefore it couldn't help being envisaged as an arbitrary event with no kind of legitimacy" (Grácio, 1986, 156).

Expansion and diversification of private higher education supply played an important role in the reinforcement of State legitimacy, which faced increasing social pressure coming from society sectors that considered admittance to higher education as a way of widening their opportunities for social mobility. On the other hand, higher education growth was carried out in a unruly way, through a disordered grant of warrants to private universities (Grácio, 1988). In many cases, warrants grant was the only possible solution to legally frame *faits accomplis*. In other words, it was the only acceptable response to preserve the interests of the students enrolled in higher education establishments, which had started their activity before getting a previous warranty.

With the socialist government, higher education assumed a major position in the political agenda and became one of the most important focuses of social tension. Approval of the *law for the financing of higher education*[13] has been the source of one of the most inflamed polemics in Portuguese society and the subject of an enormous plea by the student movement. Simultaneously, budgets shortening in public universities, introduction of more strict criteria in warrants' grant to private education and in approval of their courses have contributed for this education level to be in the center of public debate.

[13] The fee law, approved in 1997, instituted an annual payment in a value equivalent to the national minimum wage.

Adult education

In spite of the low levels in Portuguese population's school qualification[14], adult education has not been considered a priority in the last few years. Its marginal character has increased in the last years, during which depreciation, fragmentation and incoherence occurred in this sector (Canário, 1997). Increasingly imprisoned in school logic, adult education has been assumed as a second chance schooling for young people who fail or do not fulfill compulsory education. In this context, we have witnessed a rejuvenation of its population and a redefinition of its position in the educational system. However, this redefinition has contributed to leading adult education to progressively confine itself to second chance education or become an appendix of the mainstream educational system (Canário, 1997, 112).

Governance and educational discourses

Educational policies carried out in the last decade in Portugal has not been immune to the diffusion of the neo-liberal-oriented matrix from which some reforms in western educational systems have emerged. We are therefore in the presence of a proliferation of educational discourse electing "modernization", "quality", "effectiveness", and "autonomy" as their structuring elements. Anchored in an instrumental rationale this kind of discourse thus seeks to hide its ideological dimension under the praise of pragmatism and of an inevitable educational convergence in Europe. Besides, resort to international instances to invoke the inevitability of some political options has been a constant in Portuguese social formation. Nowadays, Europe, or better European Unity, is one of the most used referents to justify some current educational policies.

---

[14] According to 1991 census data analphabetism rate in the population aged more than 15 reached 12%.

However, the insertion of the Portuguese semi-peripheral social formation in the world system in addition to a deficit of legitimacy of State contributes to placing the pragmatic rhetoric on a par with another rhetoric where reference to equality of opportunities and humanistic values is frequent. The claim for the equality rhetoric emerges as a sine qua non condition for the State legitimization process. It has also contributed for the Portuguese educational policy in the 80's and 90's to try to respond to the crisis of mass school through the production of educational approaches that in defending common welfare alternatively fall back upon public service principles or market principles.

Permanent tensions between these two discursive matrixes has contributed for the Portuguese educational reforms to be highly ambiguous and in the origin of what Almerindo Afonso calls a mitigated educational neo-liberalism. It is mitigated because the definition of recent educational policies has been influenced by two trends in opposite directions: "keeping on expanding State in order to obtain an increasing equality of opportunities and state education democratization and simultaneously trying to reduce this same State opening the educational field to private initiative in order to get an increasing freedom in learning and teaching" (Afonso, 1997: 107). It is mitigated also because many of the neo-liberal-trended elements and marks are confined to the policy promulgating discourses and because even if they are put into practice their results have not been similar to the results obtained in the countries of origin.

Modernization discourse

During the last few decades, modernization has become an almost hegemonic reference for political discourse. It has been used as one of the legitimating sources of the reforms to be carried out or as "a factor for ideological convergence of social incompatible interests" (Stoer, Stoleroff and Correia, 1993, 35). As concerns education, modernization has been linked to the emergency of a vocational trend in the Portuguese school system, on the one hand, and to the

proliferation of discourses on quality, efficiency, and autonomy, on the other hand.

Constant claim to the appreciation of human resources as an indispensable condition for the country's economic development becomes the dominant tonic of the discourses produced during the centre-right mandate. The need to adapt the educational system to the demands on globalization and internationalization of economy and to the specificity of local labor markets are the arguments that support what Rui Grácio, in 1991, called "the slow reform of the duality of general education courses and technical-vocational courses" (p. 678) or what other authors more recently call the new vocationalism (Stoer, Stoleroff and Correia, 1990, 1993). The vocationalism trend that marked educational policies in the 80's, materialized in the diversification of educational supply, was responsible for the shifting from "replacement of the concern with the link between school and democracy as the dominant axis of the educational policy to a more restrict one between school education and its relevance for the labor market" (Stoer, Stoleroff and Correia, 1990, 22). Yet while the modernization imperative postulates the adaptation of the educational system to the labor marked it also opens way to the enterprise orientation of school and to school orientation of the enterprise (Stoer 1994; Correia, 1994). Support of the school and enterprise proximity is evident in an ex-minister's statement: "The development lines conceived should be combined with a deep change of the 'school' and 'enterprise' concept because the former is supposed to increasingly act in the business style, while the latter will gradually play some roles in the education and research fields" (Carneiro, 1988, 18).

The other dimension of modernization has supported the rationalizing and restructuring policies for the educational system. After the quantitative expansion of the system, the main lines of the educational policy's intervention focus inwards and elect the qualitative construction of the system as one of their priorities. In this context, the modernization discourse takes on a new sense. 'Quality', 'effectiveness', 'efficiency', 'autonomy', 'participation',

'decentralization' become the structuring elements of a new discursive rhetoric on the educational system. Simultaneously, the educational system reconceptualizes them and inscribes them in a new semantic grammar that supplies them with pretense ideological neutrality. "Functional decentralization is congruent with the market 'spontaneous order', it respects individual freedom and assures economic efficiency; participation is above all one cohesion, consensus and management technique; (mitigated) autonomy is a fundamental instrument for the construction of an organization-enterprise mood and culture" (Lima, 1995, 28-29). After the redefinition of their meaning in the context of a technical-bureaucratic rationale these words are used at the service of a single thought that takes with no alternative one best way for granted as inevitable, in short.

Quality is precisely one of the words on which semantic metamorphosis has most effectively acted. It appears as an absolute concept, ideologically pure, politically neutral, and socially free of context. It has been mobilized to legitimate the diffusion of a managerial logic through which the business management techniques are imported to the educational system (Barroso, 1997). The School Quality Observatory is also set forth in the light of quality as the supreme virtue. It falls back upon the movement for the school effectiveness, innovation management theories, and total quality and invokes terms like "school productivity", "excellence", and "effectiveness". The Quality Observatory also falls back upon a battery of indicators defined by the central administration to "measure" annual profits and loss of quality" (Clímaco, 1995, 19).

Reconceptualization of the concept of teaching quality carried out in the context of the neo-liberal thought has been subject to numerous critics. As João Barroso (1997, 40) refers in a recent article, "a political strategy based on the definition of 'quality patterns' and 'quality control' procedures is a form of rationalization (as any other, bureaucratic, technical, etc.) and it is therefore a 'procedure for social homogenization' (in the Weberian sense). But 'obsession towards

quality' (so dear to the 'management' rhetoric) can become a way of reducing students homogeneity and the educational system and school multi-functionality as far as education is concerned". Along with quality, school 'autonomy', 'decentralization', and 'participation' are recurrent concepts in the educational discourse on modernization and they are used to support a lower intervention of State in education. The State role is re-equated precisely in the context of one of the most emblematic projects of the center-right governance (Vocational Schools). In this sector, which intends to give the initiative back to local actors in the construction of a training supply that contributes for the local and regional development, the State is assigned a triple function: catalyst in that it is supposed to stimulate, support and accelerate the projects; regulator because the definition of the main orientations, the model and the guiding lines for its development are due to the State; and mediator because it is supposed to promote new initiatives, correct social and geographical asymmetries, adequate education supply to national priorities (Azevedo, 1991, 154-155). The role assigned to State in what concerns Vocational Schools is therefore closer to the one it is assigned to State in the context of the strategies defined to strive against the crisis of the Welfare State. In presence of a situation of financial crisis and before the impossibility to break social policies development, State tries to reduce its intervention field by creating conditions for the production of services and goods to become attractive to private capital (Santos, 1990).

However, as far as these schools are concerned this option is not only determined by an immediate financial crisis because the program's financing is joint funded by the European Community but it is most of all determined by an anticipation of an eventual crisis and by adherence to neo-liberal orientations evident in the option to create a new education supply that is dependent of "civil society" against expansion of the public network. Yet, while the setting forth of these schools is close to the strategies supported by the new right, their characteristics confer them a specificity that reinforces the singular character of the neo-liberal policies in Portugal. As Stoer refers

(1991), this is a project with its origin in State but it is proclaimed as a challenge to local initiative defending private management of public resources.

Lack of coincidence between the discourses that claim the decrease of State intervention in education, defend autonomy and proclaim the virtues of marked and continuation the hegemonic position of State in the regulation of the educational system contributes to reduce the impact of the modernization and managerial logic proclaimed by the new right in the Portuguese educational system.

Final considerations

Restrained between the postponed project for consolidation of mass school and the need to respond to the crisis, educational policies have balanced from reference to the values diffused by the democratization discourse to neo-liberal-trended orientations. Yet neither those that claim the promotion of equality of opportunities nor those that share a modernization intention manage to linearly and automatically accomplish the objectives proposed.

As we saw along the text, some of the policies aiming to consolidate mass school and to promote equality of opportunities in access and success have not managed to accomplish their objectives. They also fall back upon strategies that can be inscribed in what some authors call smooth exclusion strategies because they potentially induce stigmatization and "relative" exclusion. On the other hand, those that elect the rationalization and modernization of the educational system as priorities themselves produce contradictory effects that contribute to conferring educational neo-liberalism a mitigated character not expectable in the context of the full adherence to the discursive referents of a neo-liberal rhetoric.

In presence of this complexity a research program that seeks to analyse educational policies in the light of the integration/exclusion phenomena cannot help considering the objectives that direct them, the discourses that legitimize them and the practice they produce. In this perspective, if a first analysis line opens the way to the

delimitation of the range of possibilities for these phenomena to emerge, the analysis of the school establishment's appropriation process will permit to account for their own specificity.

Yet understanding of the complex relation between integration/exclusion phenomena and the educational policies also demands its re-equation in a societal and more global context. Only that way will it be possible to understand the coexistence of "development" (traduced in an exponential growth of production and wealth) and systematic growth of poverty, inequality and unemployment can be understood.

The relative exclusion produced by the educational system as something necessarily intrinsic can only be understood in the context of the "new social issue" (Castels, 1995; Rosanvallon, 1995; Gorz, 1997) and the cross effects of the generalized growth of qualifications, growth of inequalities, structural unemployment and increasing depreciation of diplomas. The school institution's intrinsic production of exclusion opens way to the understanding of the circular causality knots that link school exclusion to social exclusion. Although it is not a new issue, what permits a different approach to this issue that avoids going back to the paradigm of the reproduction theories is the full consideration of the social actor as subject. From the point of view of educational sociology, this perspective of the subject links to the concept of construction of the sense of school work, which emerges as a key-point in the analysis of school inequality (Carlot, Bautier e Rochex, 1992; Perrenoud, 1994; Rochex, 1995; Develay, 1996). Yet the development of research clues to the production of school exclusion in its relation with social exclusion requires placing both the problem of the relation with knowledge and the analysis of the construction process of juvenile identities in the center of the investigation (Dubet, 1987; 1991).

A research program on school integration/exclusion taking the "social issue" in its political and ethical dimension as a referent must consider these different approaches in order to steer clear of "exposure" and "pragmatism".

References

Afonso, A. J. 1997:. O neoliberalismo mitigado numa década de governação social-democrata. Um contributo sociológico para pensar a reforma educativa em Portugal (1985-1995). *Revista Portuguesa de Educação, 10*, pp 103-137.

Azevedo, J. 1991:. *Política tecnológica nos anos 90*. Porto: ASA.

Barroso 1996: *Autonomia e gestão das escolas*. Lisboa: Ministério da Educação.

Barroso, J. 1997: Perspectiva crítica sobre a utilização do conceito de qualidade de ensino: consequências para a investigação. Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação (Ed). *Contributos da Investigação Científica para a Qualidade do Ensino*. Porto: SPCE.

Bouveau, P. & Rochex, J-Y 1993: *Rapport au savoir et rapport à l'école dans les zones d'éducation prioritaires. Recherches et innovations dans l'éducation et la formation.* Paris: Aprief.

Boyer R. 1986: *La théorie de la regulation. Une analyse critique*. Paris: La Decouverte.

Cababrito, B. 1997: A equidade no sistema universitário português: da unversalidade do discurso à contradição das práticas. *Análise Psicológica, 4*, pp 507-526.

Canário, R 1998: *Territórios Educativos de Intervenção Prioritária*. Lisboa: FPCE/UL, policopiado.

Canário, R. 1997: L'école à la recherche du temps perdu. Les débats sur l'école au Portugal. *Revue Internationale d'Éducation*, pp 99-113.

Canário, R., Alves, N., Canário, B. & Rolo, C. 1998: *L'école et l'espace local: l'experience portugaise des TEIP*. Comunicação à 4ème Biennnale de l'Éducation et de la Formation. Paris: CNAM.

Carnerio, R. 1988: *Educação e Emprego em Portugal Uma leitura de modernização*. Lisboa. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Castels, R. 1995: *Les métamorphoses de la question sociale. Une chronique du salariat*. Paris: Fayard.

Charlot, B.; Bautier, E. e Rochex, J-Y 1992: *Ecole et savoir dans les banlieues...et ailleurs*. Paris: A. Colin.

Charlot, B. 1997: *Du rapport au savoir. Eléments pour une théorie. Paris:* Anthropos.

Chauveau, G. & Rogovas-Chauveau, E. 1995: *A l'école des banlieues*. Paris: ESF.

Clímaco M. C. 1994: *O Observatório da Qualidade da Escola. Cadernos PEPT 2000, 2*. Lisboa: PEPT/Ministério da Educação.

Clímaco M. C. 1995: *Observatório da qualidade da escola - guião organizativo*. Lisboa: PEPT/ Ministério da Educação.

Correia, J. 1994: A Educação em Portugal no limiar do séc. XXI: perspectivas de desenvolvimento futuro. *Educação, Sociedade & Culturas, 2*, pp 7-30.

Develay, M. 1996*: Donner du sens à l'école*. Paris: ESF.

Dubet, F. 1987: *La galère: jeunes en survie*. Paris: Seuil.

Dubet, F. 1991:. *Les lycéens*. Paris: Seuil.

Estevão, C. 1996: *Redescobrir a escola privada portuguesa como organização*. Braga: Universidade do Minho [Dissertação de doutoramento].

Estevão, C. 1997: O privado e o público do ensino privado e das suas organizações escolares. A. Luis, J. Barroso, J. Pinhal (Eds.). *A Administração da Educação: Investigação, formação e práticas*. Lisboa Forum Português de Administração Educacional.

Gomes, R. 1996: The reform of mass schooling in Portugal (1974-1991). Mediterranean *Journal of Educational Studies, 1*, pp 29-42.

Goraz, A. 1997: *Misères du présent, richesse du possible*. Paris: Galilée.

Grácio, R. 1981: Perspectivas futuras. M. Silva, I. Tamen (coord.). *Sistema de Ensino em Portugal*. Lisboa Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Grácio, R. 1988: Debater publicamente reformas educativas: um confronto. *Seara Nova, 18*, pp 14-18.

Grácio, S. 1986: *Política educativa como tecnologia social. As reformas do ensino técnico de 1948 e 1983*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.

Lima L. 1995: *Crítica da racionalidade técnico-burocrática em Educação: das articulações e desarticulações entre investigação e acção. Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação(ed). Ciências da Educação: Investigação e acção*. Porto: SPCE.

Lima, L. 1994: Modernização, racionalização e optimização na organização e administração da educação. *Cadernos de Ciências Sociais, 14*, pp 119-39.

Lopes, J. S. 1996: A economia Portuguesa desde 1960. A. Barreto (org) *A Situação Social em Portugal, 1960-1995*. Lisboa: ICS.

Mónica, Filomena, 1978: *Educação e Sociedade no Portugal de Salazar*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença/GIS.

Nóvoa, A. 1996: L' Europe et Éducation: éléments d'analyse socio-historique des politiques éducatives europeénnes. T. Winther Jensen (ed). *Challenges to European Education: cultural values, national identities and global responsabilities*. Sonderdruc: Peter Lang.

Nóvoa, A. 1992: A «Educação Nacional». F. Rosas (coord.). *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960) [nova História de Portugal - vol. XII]*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença.

Payet, J-P. 1997: *Collèges de banlieue. Ethnographie d'un monde scolaire*. Paris: A. Colin.

Perrenoud, Ph. 1994: *Métier d'élève et sens du travail scolaire*. Paris: ESF.

Rochex, J-Y. 1995: *Le sens de l'expérience scolaire*. Paris: PUF.

Rogovas-Chauveau, E. & Chauveau, G. 1993: Banlieues: le rêve de l'excellence. B. Montelh (dir). *Ainsi change l'école*. Paris: Autrement.

Rosanvallon, P. 1995: *La nouvelle question sociale. Repenser l'Etat-Providence*. Paris: Seuil.

Santos, B. 1985: Estado e Sociedade na semiperiferia do sistema Mundial. *Análise Social*, pp 87-88-89, pp 869-901.

Santos, B. 1990: *O Estado e a Sociedade em Portugal (1974-1988)*. Porto: Afrontamento.

Santos, B. 1993: O Estado, as relações salariais e o bem-estar social na semiperiferia: o caso português. B. Santos (org.) (1993). *Portugal: um retrato singular*. Porto: Afrontamento.

Souta, L. 1997: *Multiculturalidade e Educação*. Porto: Proedições.

Stoer, S, Stoleroff, A. & Correia, J. 1990: O novo vocacionalismo na política educativa em Portugal e a reconstrução da lógica da acumulação. *Revisa Crítica de Ciências Sociais, 29*, pp 11-47.

Stoer, S, Stoleroff, A. & Correia, J 1993: A ideologia da modernização e o sistema educativo. *Caderno de Ciências Sociais*, pp 12-13, pp 25-51.

Stoer, S. 1991: *Comentário. Actas Da Conferência Nacional Novos Rumos para o Ensino Tecnológico e Profissional*. Porto: GETAP/ME.

Stoer, S. 1994: O Estado e as políticas educativas: uma proposta de mandato renovado para a Escola Democrática. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais, 41*, pp 3-33.

Van-Zanten, A. 1996: Fabrication et effets de la segregation scolaire. S. Paugam (dir). *L'exclusion. L'état des savoirs*. Paris: La Découverte.

SPAIN

The Spanish Educational System: A Report

Miguel A. Pereyra, Diego Sevilla & Pablo J. Castillo

The point today is no longer a matter of being 'up or down', but of being 'in or out': those who are not 'in' want to be; otherwise they are in a social void.

Alain Touranie (1991, p. 8)

Introduction

The land area of Spain (504,782 km^2) makes it the second largest country in Europe after France. Together with Portugal, which is five times smaller, it occupies the Iberian Peninsula, as well as two archipelagos (the Balearic Isles, off the Mediterranean coast of mainland Spain with an area of 5014 km^2 and the Canary Islands, distant from the Iberian Peninsula, in the Atlantic Ocean off the Sahara, south of Morocco, with an area of 7242 km^2) and two cities in North Africa - Ceuta (population 70,777) and Melilla (population 61,524).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, all of these territories were united under the Spanish monarchy after eight centuries of dynastic alliances and struggle against the Muslim invaders. It has been said that the Spaniards are a particularly individualistic people, given to hold dearly to their local peculiarities. This is in part due to the different origins of the people, the variety of climatic conditions, and the mountainous nature of much of the country, which has prevented ease of communication and encouraged cultural and linguistic diversity. Nonetheless, the French Bourbon dynasty of monarchs attempted to impose a centralised, uniform state in Spain in

the eighteenth century. This aim was continued by the Spanish liberals of the nineteenth century and met with fierce opposition, mainly in those populations with more distinct cultural and linguistic differences (Catalonia and the Basque country), later to grow into the nationalist and separatist movements of the twentieth century which the Second Republic (1931-1936) attempted to accommodate by formally recognising them. However, during the Civil War brought on by the military uprising against the Republic and the ensuing dictatorship of General Franco (1936-1975), these movements were harshly repressed, which only led to deeper resentment and the eventual appearance of terrorist groups that continue to survive even after democracy was restored, the most important of which is E.T.A. (Euskadi ta Askatuta - Basque Country and Freedom). After the death of Franco, Spain became a constitutional monarchy, consisting of 17 autonomous regions, each with their own parliament and government. This formula, similar to federalism, allows for the political recognition of nationalist tendencies and cultural diversity. Spain is, therefore, a nation of nations.

At present, the population of the country is 39,270,000, with an average density of 78 inhabitants per km^2 (urban 78%; rural 26%).

In 1986, Spain joined the European Economic Community, today known as the European Union, in which it is one of the poorest member states, with an extremely high unemployment rate (the employed rate of the total population in 1993 was distributed as follows: ages 16-69, 60.3%; female 36.7%; unemployed 16.6%, with the highest underground economy of the EU, between 10-23% of GIP, mostly located at the agriculture and services sectors). Spain has a GNP per capita of $13,280, with only 76% of the average purchasing power of other European Union countries.

The Spanish educational system has developed in line with the evolution of Spain into a modern state. From the second half of the eighteenth century, the progressive reformers sought economic development by means of a unified national market and a free, rational, lay society in which the state would administer a secular

educational system. They were opposed by the conservatives, who were opposed to all innovation, and defenders of the most reactionary of Catholic ideologies. In a backward, basically agricultural country, there was no bourgeoisie or middle class to soften the friction or gently put reformist proposals into practice. This also gave rise to an abusive bureaucratic and legalistic control, far removed from ordinary life. The reformers dedicated themselves to revolutions from above, while the conservatives demonstrated their propensity to revert to violence. The growth of the population was not met with economic and social adjustments offering a minimum of satisfaction to the aspirations of the lower classes, whose only recourse was rioting, strikes and rebellion. In this situation, the army became the arbitrator and ended up imposing often authoritarian solutions by means of their uprisings (pronunciamientos). The ideological and social gap and the inability to cope with problems and discrepancies without turning to violence formed the basis of the brutal civil war (1936-1939).

The dictatorship imposed by the victors of this war seemed to remove all hope of reform. However, in the 1960s, Spanish society was undergoing a striking change in economy, social structure and attitudes. Agriculture was the main activity of 47.8% of the total working population in 1950, 40.8% in 1960 and only 23.9% in 1970 (Fig. 1); between 1963 and 1973 the mean annual growth of the GNP was 6.5% - higher than any of the other 22 countries in the OECD, with the exception of Japan; in 1970, 33% of the working population in rural areas had emigrated and 8% of the working population of Spain was employed elsewhere in Europe; between 1960 and 1969, equipment in Spanish homes improved enormously, with 46% enjoying running water at the beginning of the decade increasing to 80%, those with cars rising from 2% to 27%, and with television sets from 1% to 62%; the 6- to 13-year-old sector of the population attending school rose from around 50% at the beginning of the 1950s to 87% at the end of the 1960s (Fig. 2). If we also consider the contact with other life styles brought about by emigration to Europe and the rise of tourism in Spain, we can see that the changes took place not

only in the social and economic structure, but also in habits and attitudes.

The first democratic elections in 1977 were a clear sign of the will to establish a fully democratic state along European lines, without endangering the social and economic gains recently achieved through great effort. The voters expressed their preference for middle-of-the-road political parties and for nationalist parties in Catalonia and the Basque country. Following a pattern of transition to democracy "by transaction" (see Sharpe, 1986), the Constitution of 1978 was drawn up as the result of agreement, so that it would not contain anything objectionable to any political group and, simultaneously, all groups could develop their own political programmes without any need to alter the Constitution. A kind of federal state (Estado Autonómico) was drawn up with a measure of power to be shared between the central State and its constituent autonomous regions (Comunidades Autónomas).

Social Origins of the Spanish Educational System

The closest precursors to the present Spanish educational system are to be found in the members of the Spanish Illustration. In the second half of the eighteenth century, this organisation produced memoirs and reports on public education and universities. Their intention was to instigate public interest in national education and to involve the monarchy in this task. In 1812, in the first of the seven Constitutions that have governed Spain, the liberals established the commitment of the State towards education by specifying the uniform nature of education for all, since they preferred a guaranteed minimum rather than trusting public or private initiative. A solemn declaration of this principle was made, ignoring the fact that the country lay in ruins after the Peninsular War against Napoleon (1808-1814) and the public treasury was bankrupt, so it is no surprise that in the years immediately following the proclamation of such laudable ideas, the number of children attending school was no higher than 17%.

It was not until 1857 that a Law of Public Instruction was passed thanks to the efforts of the supporters of moderate liberalism (liberalismo moderado). This law maintained the principle of uniformity and declared primary education obligatory, but free only for those who could certify their poverty. The onus of financing this level of education fell on the administrators in the town halls. Secondary education was to cover general studies and studies required for industrial occupations and were to depend on financial provisions from provincial budgets. The (Catholic) Church was authorised to teach Christianity and morals in public schools and it was made possible for religious institutions to set up private schools. The aim of this law was neither to transform teaching nor to extend it, but rather to give it an orderly legal basis and the manner in which it sought to do so was more in the interest of the ruling classes than in attention to the needs of the working classes, which led to problems of school attendance and illiteracy. These problems were not seriously tackled until 1970, at the end of General Franco's dictatorship, when this law was replaced by the General Law of Education (Ley General de Educación), actually a political reform used as a powerful source of compensatory legitimisation to avoid the real collapse of the regime when Franco's death was nigh (for the use of educational reforms as a source of compensatory legitimisation by modern states, see Weiler, 1988; and applied to the Spanish case, Morgenster de Finkel, 1993).

The Minister for Education (1968-1973) Sr. Villar Palasí undertook an investigative report entitled Education in Spain: Foundations for Educational Policy (1969), in which the deficiencies of the educational system were brought to light, together with its lack of adaptation to a modern, developing society. One of the main problems he detected was the extremely unfair selective nature of the system. It was shown that in the 1960s, 15% of children of school age did not attend school at all, only 30% attended primary school for 4 years up to Elementary Bachillerato level (Bachillerato Elemental), 15% continued to Upper Bachillerato (Bachillerato Superior), 5% reached

175103

the final stage of secondary education (Curso Preuniversitario) and only 3% went on to university (Fig. 3).

As a result of this report, the subsequent General Law of Education reflected these technocratic ideas on education. Its intention was to modernise the entire educational system by introducing profound changes at all levels from primary school to university. Perhaps its most revolutionary innovation was the enforcement of school attendance for the entire population between 6 and 14 years of age along the lines of a comprehensive education known as General Basic Education (Educación General Básica). Naturally, the application of the new law met with many difficulties. On the one hand, it was too progressive for the supporters of the dictatorship, while on the other hand, it was unacceptable to progressive sectors of the population, originating as it had in one of the ministries of Franco's regime. In addition, the economic crisis of 1973 that came after a decade of impressive growth posed problems for the financing of education.

After the general elections of 1977, all political parties, trades unions and other groups signed the Moncloa Pact (Pactos de la Moncloa), which pushed the political consensus into the socio-economic sphere. This agreement implied the creation of a large number of places in schools to guarantee the implementation of an educational system in compliance with the Spanish society of the last third of the twentieth century. Once the labour sector had been pacified, politicians set to work to draft the 1978 Constitution.

In regards to education, the Constitution forbids discrimination on unjust grounds, recognises the teacher's right to independence in the classroom, establishes, as mentioned above, the powers of the central state and the autonomous regions and dedicates Article 27 to ratifying the irrevocable standpoints of left and right wings on the education issue. This Article defines the concept of education by stating its aim as the full development of the human personality in the context of respect for democratic principles and fundamental rights and liberty; it guarantees the right of every citizen to receive education and the right of parents to provide their children with moral and religious education

according to their own convictions; it recognises the freedom to set up centres of learning; it assumes financing of private schools, but likewise the participation of parents, teachers and pupils in the running of all centres receiving public funds; and, finally, it recognises the autonomy of the universities.

Education in Today's Spain: Issues, Controversies and Problems

The Spanish educational system as it stands today has been modelled to a large extent by the policies of socialist governments. After the first democratic elections in 1977, followed by five years of centrist government, the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español - Spanish Labour Party) governed the country without interruption for 14 years (1982-1996). The most notable feature of this period of government was the increase in spending on education, which multiplied by 2.17 in real terms between 1980 and 1995, rising from 3.84% of the GNP to 5.68%. This allowed the system to accommodate the demand for expansion of the non-obligatory levels of education (Fig. 4), the rise in the number of teachers and their salaries and the establishment of a broad policy of grants. Private financing in education in Spain makes up about a fifth of the total, while the public sector also finances private schools that sign an agreement with the administration for the obligatory levels. This agreement requires such schools to operate along lines similar to those of public schools.

Nonetheless, government spending on education in Spain continues to be below the average of the OECD nations, both in terms of GNP percentage (6.4% average in 1991) and as regards expenditure at any level of education, which does not on average reach 50% in Spain (Figure 5).

Rather than increasing finances for education, socialist government policy has perhaps been more influential in reforming the educational system by increasing the degree of participation and democratisation

and transforming a centralised system into one that is more or less federal.

Participation and Democratisation

The socialists came to power with the commitment to substitute the authoritarian structures of the educational system (rule from above) with democratic processes (rule from below). Therefore, since 1985, the main governing body in each school is the school council (Consejo Escolar del Centro), which is mainly made up of teachers, parents' representatives and pupils. The school council elects a member of staff as headmaster; unfortunately, the results of this change have not lived up to expectations. About half of the headmasters have to be designated by the administration because no candidates come forward and there is a very low degree of participation of pupils and parents in electing their representatives. Accordingly, since 1995, only people previously accredited by the administration are now eligible for the post of headmaster.

Participation in school activities has been promoted by encouraging pupil and parent associations, which are highly important and very active. The role of the State school council and of the school councils in each of the autonomous regions is as consultative bodies in which participation is held at the highest level. They consist of representatives of society and of all the sectors involved in education (teachers, parents, pupils, spokesmen from private schools, trades unions, education administration, universities, etc.). Still, however, there is an unfortunate lack of participation.

Reform of the Educational System: Changes below University Level

Apart from introducing participation into the educational system, the socialists wanted to reform it. Reform was first approved for the universities (1983) but postponed for other levels of education until 1990. In this year the LOGSE was passed (Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo - Law for the General Ordering of the Educational System), which substituted the 1970 General Law of

166

Education (Ley General de Educación). The new law implied a complete restructuring of the Spanish educational system, a process that will not be completed until the academic year 2001-2002. The justification for these changes is to be found in the deficiencies detected in the system in 1989. These were as follows: lack of regulation at the nursery school stage (0 to 6 years); the drop-out rate at the end of General Basic Education; early streaming (on finishing General Basic Education at 14 years of age, those pupils obtaining their final diploma could continue to Bachillerato, whereas those who failed their final exams could only go on to technical education (Formación Profesional)); the high rate of failure in the first years of Bachillerato and Formación Profesional; the excessively academic nature of teaching on the Bachillerato level and the gap between Formación Profesional and the labour market.

It is clear that most of the problems affected the 12- to 18-age range, i.e., secondary education (Enseñanza Secundaria or Enseñanzas Medias). However, the socialists decided not to concentrate only on this area, but to reorganise the entire system from top to bottom.

All the parliamentary groups, with the exception of the conservatives, finally accepted the reform proposed by the socialists, after which the Spanish educational system has completely changed in the structure of its non-university levels (Figs. 6 and 7), which now stand as follows:

Pre-compulsory education

From 0 - 6 years attendance is voluntary and the aims – physical, intellectual, affective and moral development – are more formative than instructive. The methodology is meant to be based on experience, activities and games in an atmosphere of affection and trust. Schooling is subdivided into two stages, the first up to the age of 3 and the second from 3 to 6 years. The maximum teacher/pupil ratios depend on the age of the children, ranging from 1/8, 1/18 and 1/25. In recent years progress has been made in the attendance of children between 3 and 5 years (Fig. 8), coinciding with the fall in birth-rate

(Spain has the lowest birth-rate in the world, 1.2 children per woman). Between 1987 and 1995 the child population has fallen by 21.8% while school attendance has risen: for 3-year-olds, from 16.5% to 57.3%, for 4-year-olds from 86.4% to 100%. For 5-year-olds it has remained at 100%.

The changes in infant education implies that greater attention is being paid to it by school authorities. Indeed, there has been a rise in the number of places available in public schooling, particularly in the 3- to 6-age range. This increase in availability and the fall in birth-rate is giving rise to the disappearance of private institutions, particularly those in which the staff are not highly qualified or where the facilities are unsatisfactory.

Compulsory Education

The minimum period of compulsory school is 10 years (from 6 to 16). Education in all schools is to be carried out according to a comprehensive, integrated model and covers two closely linked stages: primary education (Educación Primaria) and obligatory secondary education (Educación Secundaria Obligatoria or E.S.O.).

According to the 1977 Constitution, compulsory education is provided by state schools as well as officially granted private schools (colegios concertados) (close to 30% of the compulsory school population attends this kind of school, which formerly were fully private schools run by religious orders; at present, the fully private schools, which do not receive official funding from the State, attend to about 4% of school population). In general, a "process of dualism" in compulsory education seems to be consolidating in Spain, as public schools are becoming the schools of the socially and economically less-advantaged children from the "lower" classes, while officially granted private schools are attracting the middle-class school populations (as eloquently shown by recent reports which describe the socio-economic background of the areas where Spanish schools are located; see Fundación Encuentro, 1997). In fact, we understand that this ongoing process is one of the major sources of "social exclusion",

408

better defined as the result of interactions – and their deficiencies, distortions... – among various classes of social actors in different locales, rather than a final state or condition for assigning categories of the population (see McAll, 1995).

Primary Education

This covers the 6- to 12-age ranges and includes three stages of two school years each. The objective is to provide all children with a unified education that will allow them to receive basic cultural knowledge, the skills necessary to spoken expression, reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as increasing their freedom of action in their environment.

The evaluation of the learning processes is continuous and comprehensive. Didactic methodology must be adapted to the learning rhythms of each pupil. The maximum teacher/pupil ratio is 1/25. One of the outstanding novelties regarding the teaching staff is the requirement for each school to have specialists in music, physical education, foreign languages and a supplementary teacher, whose purpose is to see to it that adequate attention to the different needs of the individual pupils as established in the model of comprehensive schooling is provided.

Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO)

This covers the 12- to 16-age ranges and consists of two stages of two years each. The objectives are to transmit basic cultural knowledge, to teach children to assume responsibilities and exercise rights, and to prepare them either to take part in working life or to continue on to Bachillerato or medium-level specific technical education.

This stage of schooling follows the principles of comprehensiveness and diversity. In the first two years, more emphasis is put on the common nucleus of obligatory subjects than on elective subjects, whereas the opposite occurs in the second stage (3rd and 4th years). The methodology is to be individual, based on autonomous learning and group work. Evaluation should be

continuous and integrative. The maximum teacher/pupil ratio should be 1/30. Schools must have a back-up teacher to help uphold comprehensiveness and diversity.

Obligatory secondary education (ESO) is the main novelty in this new design of the educational system and it is without doubt its greatest challenge. Some of the innovations particular to ESO are the previously mentioned extension of the school leaving age to 16; the formative nature of the system, rather than being one of preparation and selection for the next stage; and the inclusion of basic technical education in the general education. The latter is meant to allow pupils to understand the practical dimension of their education and prepare them to enter the world of work. The intention is also to overcome the gap between academic learning and preparation for work. These new aspects also include specific social guarantee programmes, which are for pupils who do not achieve the objectives of this stage and cannot, therefore, move on to Bachillerato or medium-level technical education. They provide basic occupational education that allows the pupils to take part in the world of work.

The implementation of obligatory secondary education, which is at present being undertaken throughout the country, is bound to encounter innumerable difficulties. In the first place, problems will arise due to the stage of schooling it is intended to cover, for it is here that the seeds of failure sown in earlier years break through to the surface. In Spain, this occurs in the last years of obligatory general education and the first years of the old-style Bachillerato and technical education. Secondly, there is the problem of the mentality and traditional attitudes of Spanish secondary school teaching staff. These are teachers who believe in the importance of the acquisition of knowledge and preparation for the university. Their professional attitudes are therefore often distant from the spirit of this new stage. Thirdly, there is the problem of the need to increase the finances necessary to implement this new stage. Some of these difficulties are to be tackled using new methodological strategies that the teaching staff must accept. Emphasis is also laid on the formative conception of

evaluation rather than the merely punitive aspect. It is impossible to deny the importance and value of these approaches, but their effectiveness will be conditioned by the opportunities of the teaching staff to give them time and attention, as well as these teachers' mentality and attitudes.

Post-Compulsory Education

According to the 1970 General Law of Education, post-obligatory education included, on the one hand, the option for 14- to 18-year-olds who had passed the Graduado Escalor (see above) to apply for the Unified Polyvalent Bachillerato (Bachillerato Unificado y polivalente - B.U.P.) or the University Preparatory Year (Curso de Orientación Universitaria - C.O.U.) and, on the other hand, for 14- to 19-year-olds with or without the Graduado Escaloar to attend technical school. (Table 6). The new structure includes Bachillerato or second stage of secondary education and medium-level specific technical education (Table 7).

Bachillerato prepares pupils who wish to continue to higher education, i. e. higher-level technical education or university education. Bachillerato has four main areas: arts, natural and health sciences, humanities and social science, and technology. The teacher/pupil ratio is allowed to be 1/35. Basic technical education begun in obligatory secondary education leads to Bachillerato.

Vocational-Technical Education

This was one of the sectors of the Spanish educational system that need reform the most. Technical education took on a proportionately low number of pupils as compared to Bachillerato (approximately one third of the whole school population of the same age). This is a result of the low esteem in which manual work is held by Spanish society, leading families to prefer that their children study Bachillerato and then progress to university. Especially the first two years of technical education have become a refuge for pupils that have not made satisfactory achievement in the general basic education programme

and therefore cannot enter Bachillerato. Another of the deficiencies most clearly manifest in technical education in Spain is that it was carried out in a much more "school-like" manner than "work-like", in the sense that both theoretical and practical classes took place in the school workshops with practically no connection to the business world. On top of all this, we have the fact that Spain has and has had one of the highest unemployment rates in Europe, especially among young people. In 1966, three and a half million were unemployed, 22% of the working population. Unemployment for the 16-19-age range was 25.5% and 60.7 % for the 20-24-age range. There was at the same time an insufficient number of intermediate technicians and skilled labourers, all of which meant that there was an urgent need for suitable technical education.

The presen design takes account of these errors and requirements. It integrates basic technical education (known as Technological Education) into the general programme of obligatory secondary education and Bachillerato, thus attempting to overcome the split between academic and practical education. It requires pupils to first succeed academically in a previous stage so as to avoid reverting to technical education because they cannot enter Bachillerato or university. The specific technical education programme is exclusively oriented to the acquisition of particular technical skills.

It remains to be seen whether the human, technical and financial resources required to put the scheme into effect will be provided.

Special Education

A new model for special education has been designed. Maximum priority is given to the principles of normalisation and integration in school life for children with special educational requirements. The basic idea is that all pupils need personal treatment and thus, in this sense, special education evolves from being education for a different type of pupils to becoming a set of human and material resources. Authorisation for attendance in centres or units of special education is

only to be given in extreme cases, in which integration in ordinary centres proves impossible.

Attention to pupils with special educational needs is planned to extend to nursery education, primary education and obligatory secondary education and use is to be made of psychopedagogical ratings and individualised curricular adjustments.

Teachers' Education

One of the objectives of the educational reform of the 1990s was and is to achieve a higher quality of schooling. Therefore, since "no educational system is better than its teachers", teacher training takes on particular importance.

Spanish teachers consist of "maestros," who are in charge of nursery schools and primary education, and secondary teachers. Maestro training consists of a three-year course at university, while the latter hold full degrees after attending university for four or five years. They are thus two professional bodies distinguished by their initial training and differing professional attitudes. Primary school teachers attend Teacher Training Colleges (Escuelas de Magisterio), institutions which were integrated into the university structure in 1972 after almost a century's separate existence. A striking fact is that no attention whatsoever is paid to the question of the recruitment procedure of future primary school teachers. No consideration is made of their social, emotional or intellectual maturity. After three years (1,900 class hours, of which a third are practical classes in schools but which, in general, bear little relation to the theoretical classes), they obtain their Diploma in Teaching in one of the seven existing specialities (nursery education, primary education, special education, physical education, musical education, foreign languages and hearing and language).

Secondary teachers take a university degree course, after which they must study for a teacher-training certificate. There is widespread agreement as to the scant usefulness of this certificate, but it has been kept nonetheless, with only slight alterations since the 1970s.

Despite the important role the Socialist Party gives education and the ample opportunities it has had to modify matters, it has maintained the old structure in the sphere of teacher training. Some innovative projects have been put forward that could have brought about significant changes. But the politicians did not take steps to pursue them and the model inherited from the previous political regime is thus still in force.

If we consider the demographic trend in Spanish society, it is clear that there is no need for a large number of new teachers in the Spanish educational system. Above all, therefore, improvements in teaching staff depend more on further education than initial education. Further training of teachers is undertaken by Education Science Institutes (Institutos de Ciencias de la Educación - I.C.E.), which is part of the university structure. These institutes conduct training of primary and secondary teachers on a clearly hierarchical basis.

Almost all teachers attend any number of courses and seminars. In many cases, one might say that their intention is to obtain a diploma by which to improve their professional position or place of work, rather than to improve their teaching practice. To curb this trend, the administration has designed programmes intended to improve teaching "in the teaching centres". In 1995, a law was passed intended to regulate the participation, evaluation and management of schools and thus compensate previous trends.

Towards a Federal System?

One of the most important changes in Spain at the end of the dictatorship was its transformation from a centralist to a heavily decentralised state. With the country already governed by a single, uniform state, now aiming at implanting freedom and democracy, the demands for self-government (or independence) from different regions had to be dealt with. The solution contained in the 1978 Constitution provides a new arrangement for territorial power. The new model, known as the State of Autonomous Regions, is more than a regional state, but less than a federal state. This organisation permits

a new distribution of powers between the central state and the territorial bodies enjoying political autonomy (autonomous regions, provinces and boroughs).

From the start, the regions with their own language and a strong nationalist tendency were extremely keen on acquiring maximal control over education, which they saw as one of the key instruments in revitalising their culture, their language and, on this basis, their national awareness.

The central state has reserved for itself – not without tension – the overall organisation of the educational system, the regulation of academic and professional titles, the establishment of educational minima and the higher inspection of the educational system. The autonomous regions, on the other hand, are charged with the regulation and administration of teaching at all levels, including degrees and specialities.

The autonomous regions have set up their own education administrations and put their individual educational policies into effect. The trend has often resulted in an emphasis of idiosyncrasies and possible differences. For instance, the basic contents of the teaching minima, established by the central government, do not occupy more than 55% of the timetable in regions with a language other than Spanish, as opposed to 65% in the others. It is thus easy to imagine the differences between teaching programmes in the different Autonomous regions. Curiously enough, on occasion the autonomous regions have adopted the centralist scheme, so that instead of having a single centralist state government, there are now several centralistic autonomous governments. It should be emphasised, therefore, that decentralisation in education does not simply mean changing from monocentralism to plurocentralism. We should also recognise the merits of the intermediate bodies (educational districts) of the municipalities and schools.

The commitment to maintain the balance between unity and autonomous diversity demands revitalisation of the organs of co-ordination, co-operation and collaboration. These include the

Conferencia de los Consejeros de Educación, the body that brings together all the heads of education in the different autonomous regions under the presidency of the Minister for Education; the Instituto Nacional de Calidad y Evaluación (I.N.C.E. - National Institute for Quality and Evaluation), whose function is to prevent discrepancies in the educational system and whose role could be very important, if we consider that evaluation should be based on participation with the autonomous administrations; and finally the Consejo Escolar del Estado (State School Council), which is the highest participatory and advisory body, bringing together representatives from all the sectors of education, administration and significant social sectors. The influence of the State School Council could be greater if it also co-ordinated the school councils of each autonomous region.

Finally, a national educational system requires not only the unity of the state of autonomous regions, but also solidarity to prevent the break-up of that unity caused by inequalities between the 17 autonomous regions.

University

The first Spanish universities were founded in the Middle Ages, but their main features that persist to this day were established in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Law of Public Instruction (Ley de Instrucción Pública) of 1857 copied the model of the French Napoleonic University. Such universities had no degree of independence whatsoever, but were completely dependent on the central Ministry of Education.

With practically no changes, this model of universities was maintained until 1970, when the General Law of Education was passed, but in practice it remained in effect until the Law of University Reform (Ley de Reforma Universitaria - L.R.U.) was passed by the socialist government in 1983. These were universities at the service of the ruling class, who used them for their own exclusive benefit to obtain positions of the highest social and economic importance. The universities began to change along with the change

undergone by Spanish society in the 1960s. They rapidly became mass universities, with very strong political movements, mostly in opposition to the ruling regime. This political awareness ebbed with the normalisation of the political situation in the second half of the 1970s, but the accelerated growth that had begun in the 1960s continued. During the last forty years, the number of university students has multiplied by almost thirty (almost doubling every ten years) and the 3% of the 18- to 20-year-old population in the beginning has now grown to over 45% (Fig. 9). At present, Spain is the second country in the European Union (after Holland) in number of university students per 100 inhabitants. This rapid, uninterrupted growth is the result of three factors: the tendency in Spanish society to scorn technical education, the custom by which all education after secondary level is channelled on to university studies, the high rate of unemployment among youth (the highest in the European Union), in addition to the fact that people see university studies as an opportunity for economic and social improvement, although this is probably greatly exaggerated at present.

The 1978 Constitution recognised the autonomy of universities, and the Socialist Party, ten months after winning the elections, succeeded in having the L.R.U. passed. According to this law, the universities achieved considerable autonomy as regards their statutes and governing bodies, academic issues and syllabuses, administration and management of resources, choice and promotion of teaching staff. The law also established democracy and participation in the running of the universities. Most of the decision-making organs are elected and they include representatives of teachers, students and those involved in administration and services of the university. The drawback to this widespread democratisation and participation is sluggishness in administration and decision-making and lack of accountability.

Among its governing bodies, each university has a social council. Three fifths of its members, including its president, must come from outside the university. The functions of the social council are to

promote the participation of the outside society in the university and the collaboration of society in financing the university and supervising its economic affairs and the end-results of its services. On a national level, the Universities' Council (Consejo de Universidades) is charged with organising, co-ordinating, planning, proposing and advising on all matters related to the university. It is presided by the Minister for Education and consists of the heads of education from the autonomous regions, the rectors of the public universities and fifteen members of "outstanding prestige".

There are considerable differences among the 54 existing universities, of which 44 are public and 10 private. The total number is still rising, because of the creation of private universities, and also because the autonomous regional governments are encouraging the establishment of public universities, which is highly appreciated from both a political and a socio-economic viewpoint.

There is also a significantly disproportionate distribution of students in different areas of study: over half (53%) study law and social science (one in five university students studies law); a fifth (21%) study technical subjects; 9.42% study humanities, 8.1% experimental science and 7.68% health sciences (Figure 10). As at all levels (Fig. 11) the teacher/pupil ration is high (1/23), but it is inversely proportional to the areas with most students: 1/38 in law and social science, 1/20 in technical subjects, 1/19 in humanities, 1/15 in experimental science and 1/7.5 in health sciences.

Although over half the student population is female (51.94%), the proportion varies by area: 67.36% in humanities, 66.85% in health sciences, 57.33% in law and social science, 48.28% in experimental science and only 22.66% in technical subjects. On the other hand, only one third of the teaching staff are women.

The most outstanding feature of the Spanish university is its growth rate. However, alongside this positive fact, there are some less positive observations to be made: its finance is low (1% of the GNP, whereas the average of the OECD countries is almost double, at 1.9%; expenditure per student is 3,875 US dollars, whereas the average in

158

OECD countries is 9,326); a high drop-out rate (one in seven students fails to obtain a degree within the stipulated time and one in five leaves the university without completing their studies); the high degree of job protection for teachers; the excessive dependence on public finance (80% comes from the public budget, while 17% is provided by student registration fees and only 3% from community sources); there is a high proportion of teaching staff without tenure; the implementation of university autonomy and self-government has not been complemented by demands for competitiveness from the newly founded Social Councils. In addition, after a long, drawn-out elaboration of new syllabuses throughout the university and before these have been put into practice in their entirety, they are being subjected to severe criticism, since many regard them as responding more to internal struggles between departments trying to acquire more teaching capacity than to any scientific or pedagogical principles or a desire to respond to social needs.

It is important that the universities not feel excessively flattered by the high demand for higher education and therefore take shelter in a corporate spirit and the benevolence of their own standards. They must move forward by improving student mobility and competition between universities. They must open their doors to mature students who combine their professional activities with study. They must undertake realistic institutional evaluation and streamline their administration and management. They must take advantage of all the opportunities obtainable from modern telecommunications and computer science. Finally, they must reinterpret their own, new-found independence.

General Conclusions

1. The Spanish educational system will continue to be affected by factors originating in the society itself. The most important of these are demographic evolutions, the degree of importance given to democratisation and participation and the change from a centralist state to almost a federal one. In any case, it is

important that the system be open to these influences but also that its reactions to them be moderate, without forgetting the interests and values of the system itself.

2. A good deal of ambitious reform has been set in motion. However, there is doubt as to whether it will succeed, since it depends on specific, detailed financing. Without sufficient resources the changes will be merely cosmetic or verbal and may even be counterproductive.
3. Comprehensive education has been broadened and intensified. However, it appears that not insufficient attention has been given to social inequality and the degree to which it is present in Spanish society. This will severely limit comprehensive schooling and a minimum guarantee of the correct operation of schools is only possible if they are given more human resources and infrastructure.
4. Dualism in compulsory education is consolidating in the Spanish educational system, producing at present a major source of social exclusion established by the system itself, regardless of other sources of this kind such as race or gender.
5. Overall, education in Spain is insufficiently financed. The historical backwardness of Spanish education has only been corrected as to rates of school attendance. Financing must be increased if we are to achieve the quality of education correspondent to the rate of development of the country. Fourteen years of Socialist government failed to solve this problem and now once again policies of reductions in social spending appear to be coming into force. Finance in education should therefore be carefully studied and areas to receive funding selected with care, for there will not be enough money.
6. The restructuring of vocational-technical education (Formación Profesional) is a priority. The faults common to the whole system are most noticeable here: excessively theoretical teaching, low quality through lack of finance, scant connection with social needs. Improvement of this sector would enable

students to go on to Bachillerato and university, reduce youth unemployment and relieve the traditional lack of specialised labour and medium technicians. The only way to attain this is to involve the relevant sectors of society, particularly the business community.

7. Insufficient attention has been paid to the teaching staff. Their initial education has not been adequately modified and their further training is not wisely thought through. However, the attitude and mentality of teaching staff are key factors in the success of any reform and for the quality of the educational system as a whole.

References and Bibliography

Ahn, N. & de la Rica, D. 1997: The Underground Economy in Spain. An alternative to Unemployment. *Applied Economics, Vol 29*, No 6, p 733-743.

Boyd-Barrett, O. & O'Malley, P. (Eds.) 1995: *Education Reform in Democratic Spain.* London: Routledge.

Carabana, J. 1988: Comprehensive Educational Reform in Spain: past and present, *European Journal of Education, Vol 23*, No 3, p 213-228

Centro de Investigacion, Documentacion y Evaluacion (CIDE) 1995: *El sistema educativo español 1995.* Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia.

Comision Europea 1995: *Las cifras clave de la educación en la Unión Europea.* Luxemburgo: Comunidades Europeas.

Consejo Escolar del Estado 1997: *Informe sobre el estado y situación del sistema educativo: curso 1995-1996.* Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia.

Fomento de Estudios Sociales y Sociologia Aplicada (FOESSA) 1994: *Informe sociológico sobre la situación social en España.* Madrid: Fundación FOESSA

Fundacion Encuentro 1997: *Informe España 1996.* Madrid: Fundación Encuentro.

Garcia de Cortazar, F. & Gonzalez Vesga, J. M. 1994: *Breve Historia de España.* Madrid: Alianza.

McAll, Ch. 1995: Les murs de la cite: territoires d'exclusion et espaces de citoyenneté. *Revue internationale d'action communautaire/International Review of Community Development, Vol 34*, No 74, p 81-92.

Maravall, J. M. 1985: *La reforma de la enseñanza.* Barcelona: Laia.

Ministerio de Educacion y Ciencia 1989: *Libro Blanco para la reforma del Sistema Educativo.* Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia

Morgenstern de Finkel, S. 1993: Teacher Education in Spain: A Postponed Reform. In Popkewitz, T. S. (comp.) *Changing Patterns of Power in Social Regulation and Teacher Education Reform.* New York: SUNY Press. p. 87-122.

Organizacion de Cooperacion y Desarrollo Economicos (OCDE) 1997: *Análisis del panorama educativo. Los indicadores de la OCDE*. Paris: OECD

Sharpe, D. 1986: *The Making of Spanish Democracy*. New York: Praeger.

Puelles Benitez, M. de 1991: *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea*. Barcelona: Labor.

Touraine, A. 1991: Face à l'exclusion. In J. Baudrillard et al.: *Citoyenneté et urbanité*. Paris: Editions Esprit.

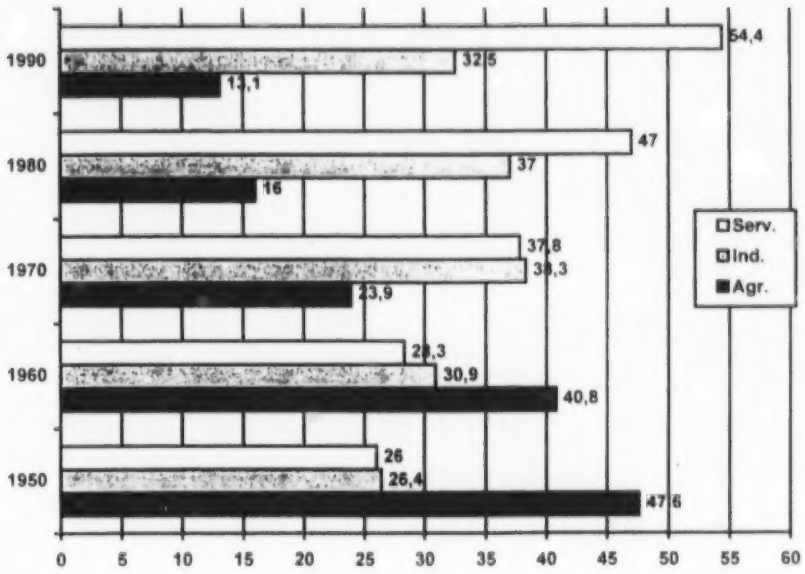
Uriel, E. (Ed.) 1997: *Las cuentas de la educación en España y en sus Comunidades Autónomas (1980-1992)*. Madrid: Fundación Argentaria – Visor.

Weiler, H. 1983: West Germany: Educational Policy as Compensatory Legitimation In Thomas, M. (ed.): *Politics and Education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. p 33-45.

202

Figure 1

Active Population: 1950-1990



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

Figure 2

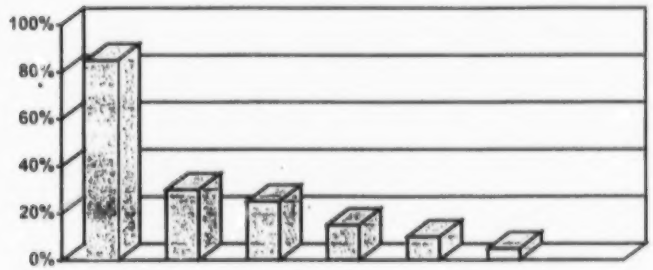
Evolution of School Enrollment: 6 to 13 years old
(1951 - 1975)

School Years	Schooling Population (Thousands)	Non-Schooling Population (Thousands)	%
1951 - 1952	4.272.	2.161.	50 %
1965 - 1966	3.839.	1.002.	78 %
1971 - 1972	4.985.	330.	93 %
1975 - 1976	5.473.	----	100 %

Source: FOESSA

Figure 3
Schooling Flux during 60's

Schooling up to 6 years old	85
Inicio Bachillerato Elemental (10 years)	30
Final Bachillerato Elemental (14 years)	25
Inicio Bachillerato Superior	15
Final Bachillerato Superior (16 years)	10
Inicio Preuniversitario	5
Inicio Universidad (17 years)	3



Source: PLANAS & TATJER (1995)

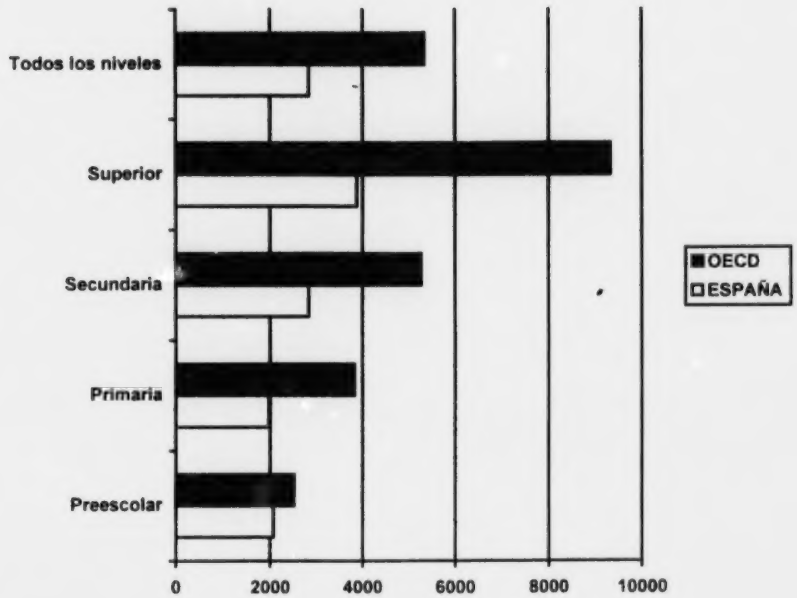
Figure 4
Schooling Increment
(1980 - 1994)

3 years	15.6	16.5	27.7	57.3
4 years	69.3	84.4	94.8	100
5 years s	92.2	100	100	100
13 years	100	100	100	100
14 years	79.6	90.4	99.7	100
15 years	65.6	76.3	89.1	96.8
16 years	51.5	60.2	73.5	80.2
17 years	47.2	52.0	64.3	71.3

Source: CIDE

Figure 5

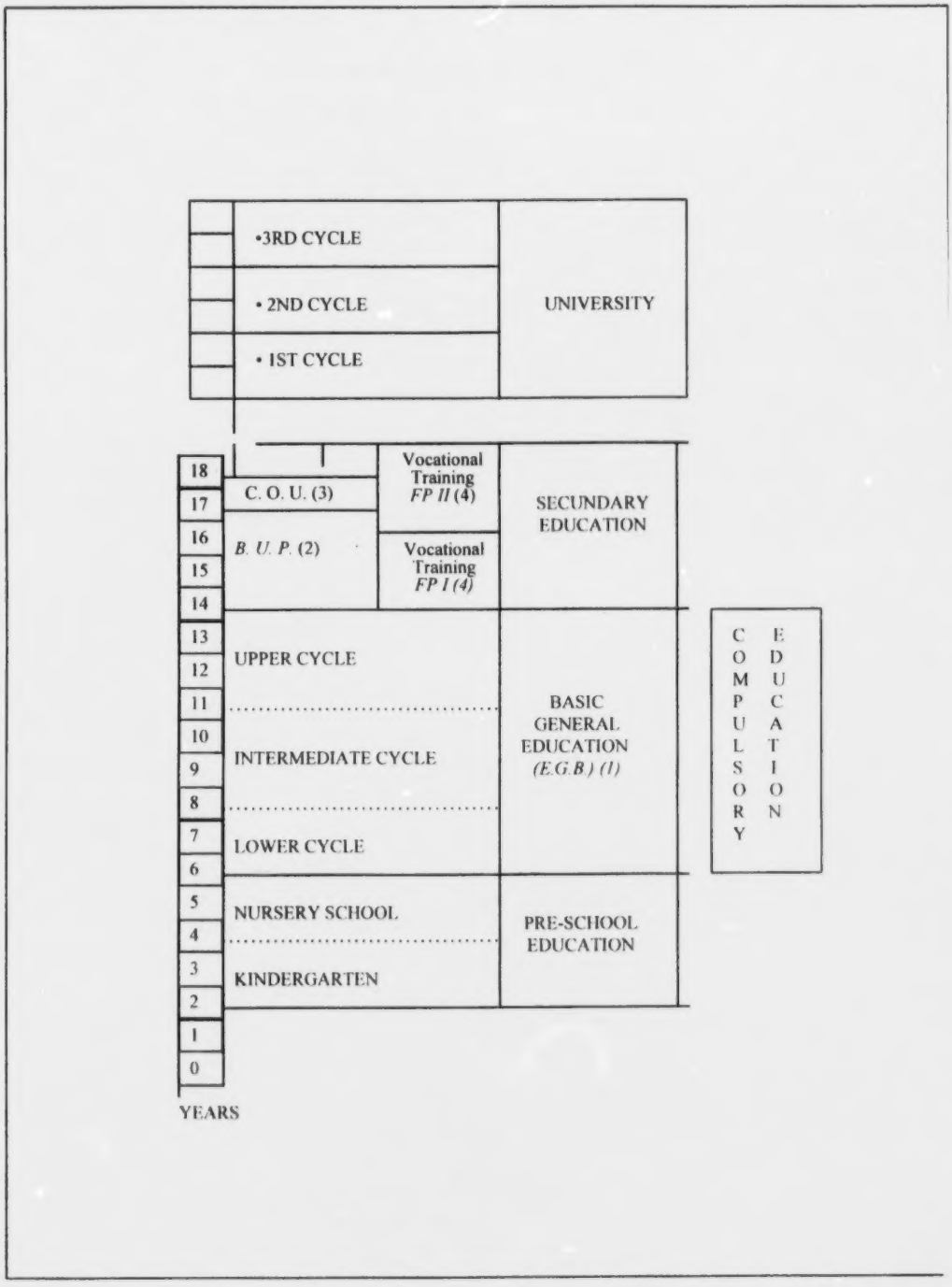
Amount of $ Spent by Student
Average of OECD



Source: OECD

Figure 6

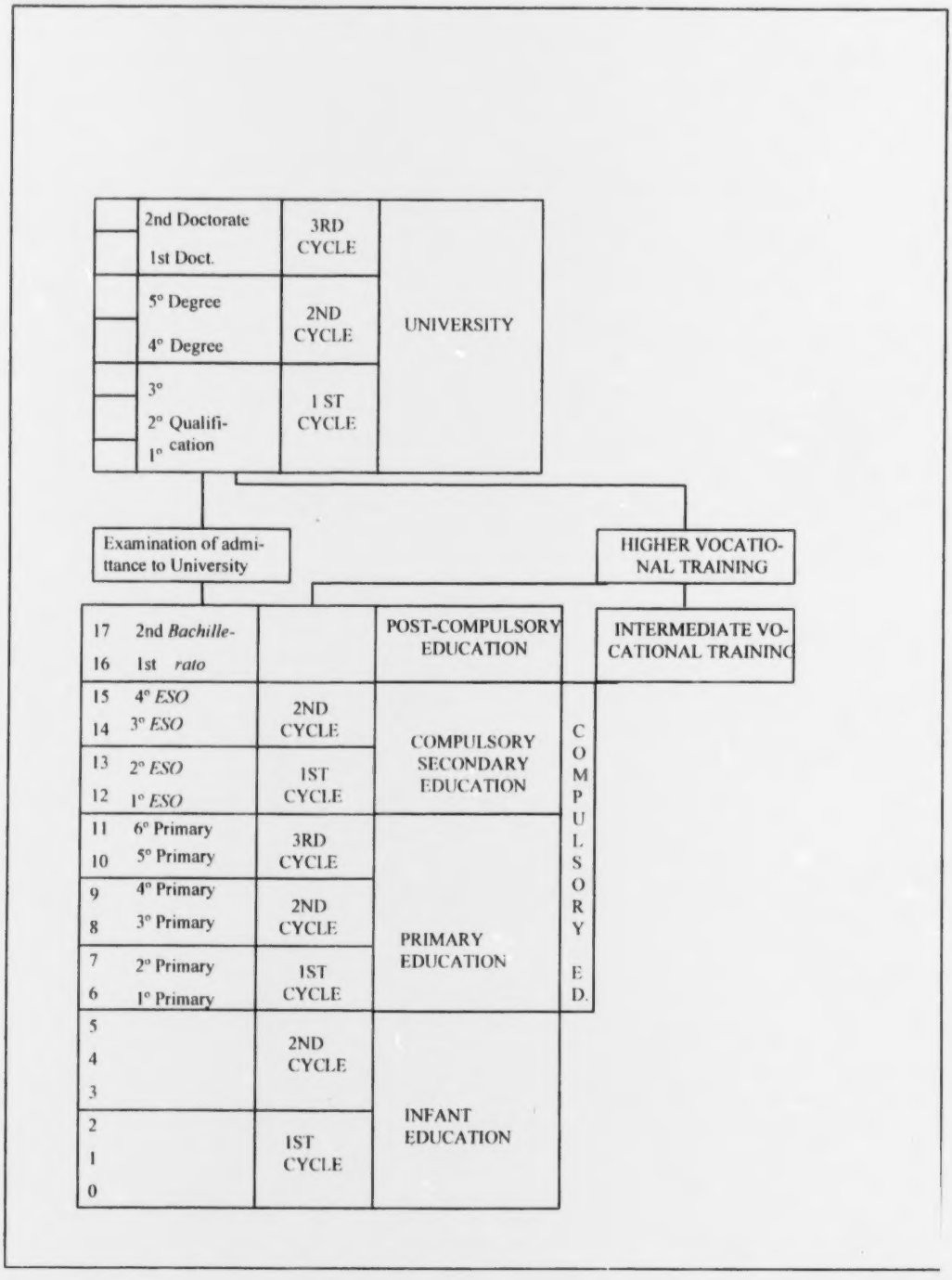
Spain: Educational System (1970)



1. *E.G.B. (Educación General Básica)* or basic general education covers the 8 years (6 to 14 years) of compulsory education. There is no division between primary and lower secondary education. *EGB* leads to upper secondary education or to level vocational training.
2. *BUP (Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente)* comprises general education at upper secondary level preparing for access to university.
3. *COU (Curso de Orientación Universitaria)* comprises a one-year university orientation course.
4. *FPI (Formación Profesional I)* comprises 2 years of general education and vocational training leading to *FPII*, the second year of *BUP*, or employment. Evening courses in *FP* are available for employed persons over 16 *(FPI)* and 18 *(FPII)*.

Figure 7

Spain: Educational System (1990)



1. *Bachillerato* comprises general education at upper secondary level providing access to higher education and to employement.
2. Intermediate and Higher Vocational Training comprises specific vocational training for employment. The diploma obtained at the end of Higher Vocational Training will also give direct access to certain related university courses.

Figure 8
Evolution of Early Childhood Education Enrollment
(1986 - 1995)

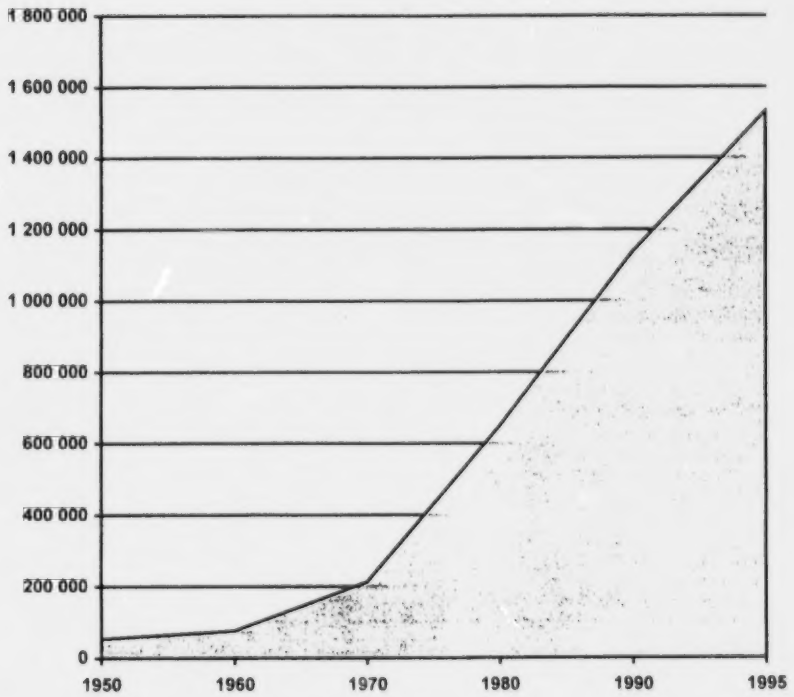
Course	1986 - 87	1990 - 91	1995 - 96
Students (Thousands)	1.085	1.005	1.108
Schooling Rate: 3 year-olds (%)	16.5	27.7	57.3
Schooling Rate: 4 year-olds(%)	86.4	94.8	100
Schooling Rate; 5 year-olds(%)	100	100	100

Source: CIDE

Figure 9

Enrollment Evolution of Higher Education
(1950 - 1995)

YEAR	STUDENTS	INCREMENT
1950	54.605	100
1960	77.123	141
1970	213.159	390
1980	649.098	1188
1990	1.137.228	2083
1995	1.529.769	2801



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

Figure 10

Higher Education Students by Areas

AREAS	SPAIN	EU
Humanities	9 %	13 %
Law and Social Sciences	53 %	35 %
Science & s y Mathematics	21 %	10 %
Medicine & Health Sciences	8 %	10 %
Engineers & Technical Degrees	8. %	18 %
Others	1 %	13 %

Source: EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Figure 11
Distribución Alumnado y *Ratio* Profesor / alumno
por Áreas

AREAS	ESPAÑA	*Ratio* Profesor /Al.
Humanidades	9 %	19
CC. Jurídicas y Sociales	53 %	38
CC. Exactas y Matemáticas	21 %	20
CC. de la Salud	8 %	7.5
Carreras Técnicas	8. %	15%

Fuente: CIDE

SWEDEN

Education for a Re- or Deconstruction of 'the Strong Society'?

Sverker Lindblad and Lisbeth Lundahl

Introduction

An analysis of relations between politics, processes and the discourses of social exclusion and inclusion in a particular society at a particular time is far from simple, as it involves unique and changing constellations of historical, economical, cultural, political and social factors. Politics is a struggle of power over the State (in a wide sense), where different, often contradictory ideas and interests of inclusion and exclusion are confronted. Inclusion and exclusion may be *a result* of conscious political endeavours; they (particularly exclusion) may also partly be a result of political reluctance, ignorance, or may exist *in spite of* conscious political efforts in the opposite direction. In this paper we begin, in order to establish a context, by identifying some crucial factors related to social exclusion and inclusion in the case of Sweden. Some opposite dominant political ideas in this respect are described, particularly with reference to education. Second, we give a short overview of the present educational system in Sweden. Finally, a number of educational political efforts and decisions from the last two decades, reflecting tendencies of decentralisation, deregulation and marketisation are identified and briefly discussed in relation to the theme of inclusion and exclusion.

212

On transformations of the Swedish welfare state

The 1930s – 1970

The rapid transformation of Sweden from a traditional, agricultural society to an advanced industrialised one was accompanied and facilitated by the development of the so-called Swedish model of collaboration between the State and the organisations of capital and labour. The 'historical compromise' of the 1930s, ending a period of countless strikes and lockouts, meant that the trade unions agreed to contribute to peace at the labour market and to keep the wage demands down, whereas the employers accepted the welfare policies of the Social Democratic government. The agreement paved the road for the strategy by which conflicting interests could be transformed into manageable social problems resolved through public sector expansion. A number of reforms were carried out based on such concepts as centralism, universialism and consensus. Social problems were to be solved by standardised measures implemented through central decisions.

In order to understand this picture, some distinguishing factors need to be mentioned. The relatively homogenous structure of the Swedish population up to the 1960s and 1970s and a corresponding relative absence of religious, cultural, regional or similar conflicts are important in this context, as well as the strength of a few, well-defined central actors: a strong and centralised State, dating back to the sixteenth century, a uniquely strong Social Democratic party, with close connections to the trade union movement, and a strong organisation of employers ('Big Business, Big Union, Big Government'). The Social Democratic Labour Party (*Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet, SAP*) was in office from 1932 to 1976, most of the time without any coalition partners. Its explicit inclusion strategy, to build *the people's home (Folkhemmet)*, i.e. reforms embracing all citizens instead of a policy based on strict class interests, was decisive in getting long-lasting support from the growing middle-class.

213

1970 – the 1990s

As in most other Western countries, the late 1960s and early 70s constitute a clear breakpoint; to a growing extent the consensus model was replaced by open conflicts and struggles, and a shift of the power balance took place in favour of the political Right (*Moderaterna*) and organised capital. In Sweden, the system of a small number of strong central actors and a highly central governance turned in the direction of decentralisation, deregulation and the emergence of a number of new political actors, especially at the local level.

> The era characterised by strong public sector expansion, centralised collective bargaining based on a historic compromise between labour and capital, social engineering, and centrally planned standard solutions have come to an end. (SOU 1990:44, p 190)[1]

Hence, if the years up to the early 1970s could be labelled the rise and flourishing of the so-called Swedish model, a consensus democracy with strong corporatist traits[2], Sweden of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s seems to follow a new pattern. Political stability, too, has been broken; since 1976, Social Democratic and non-socialist governments have alternated, with non-socialist parties in office in 1976-1982 and 1991-1994.

The critique against the welfare system has been most pregnantly expressed by the political Right and industrial organisations and groups. They have argued that the economic problems Sweden is facing are a result of a swelling, inefficient and far too expensive welfare state. What is needed is a social organisation built on 'active citizens', 'personal responsibility', a 'free market', and 'distinct and close relationships between efforts and results'. Freedom of choice and privatisation are regarded as ways to modernise the

---

[1] SOU 1990:44. Demokrati och makt i Sverige. Maktutredningens huvudrapport [Democracy and Power in Sweden. Main report from the State commission on power and democracy]. Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget.

[2] C.f. Lijphart, A & Crepaz, M L (1991). Corporatism and Consensus Democracy in Eighteen Countries: Conceptual and Empirical Linkages. *British Journal of Political Science* **21**, 235-256

malfunctioning institutions of the welfare state, including education.[3] Even the Social Democratic policy has been affected by recurrent economical crises and unemployment, and by the failures of e.g. educational reforms. When the old systems seemed to be insufficient to solving current problems, solutions involving decentralisation and deregulation were advocated as much from Social Democracy as from the Right, but with different aims in sight. While the former regard e.g. the handing over of decisions to the local level as a means of fulfilling the old integrative political goals, the aim of the political Right has clearly been to dismantle politics and give the markets and individuals more space, even if this may result in increased stratification among citizens and groups in society. The latter, according to the Right, is simply not the prime issue.

Educational politics as the politics of segregation Vs integration: Introductory comments

During the first decades after World War II, the Social Democratic Party initiated and carried through a number of educational reforms, among which the successive introduction of the nine year comprehensive school (1950-1962) and the reform of integrated upper secondary education in 1970 are particularly important. The final decision on the comprehensive school in 1962 meant an end to an old political struggle over education, concerning if and when children of different social backgrounds and gender should be taught together or separately[4]. Main opponents in this controversy were the political Right and the political branch of the labour movement. The Social Democrats believed that educational reforms, aiming at equal access to general and higher education, and the abolishment of the old parallel school system were crucial weapons in the shaping of a just

[3] For a presentation of the Swedish model of welfare state in a comparative perspective, see Esping-Andersen, G (1996). *Welfare States in Transition. National Adaptions in Global Economics*. London: Sage.

[4] Consider here the discussions on opportunity and talent in Sweden. See e.g. Husén, T (1974). *Talent, Equality and Meritocracy*. Nijhoff: The Hague.

and equal society. Their educational strategy was thus explicitly integrative in character. However, the intention was not to include everyone in academic upper secondary and higher education, but to guarantee that the talented, regardless of gender and social background, were given equal access. The scope of a 'talent reserve' was the subject of discussion, albeit with a wider definition than before. A considerable share of the children were still to be excluded, but allegedly on the basis of 'objective' merits and the children's own preferences.

According to traditional conservative ideology, a certain social and educational division is both natural and desirable. The social divisions are not so much the result of political reforms as of inherited differences of talent and energy. An educational policy aimed at erasing such differences is meaningless and even harmful, as resources are wasted on the 'wrong' students, i.e. the less talented, and the bright students are not promoted enough. This ideology was voiced by the Right during the heated school struggles of the 1910s and 1920s, in the years preceding the comprehensive school reform in the early 1960s, and in today's conservative educational politics (see below).

For the Swedish labour movement, the seventies were an awakening: in spite of all efforts, schools seemed to preserve existing social and gender divisions and inequalities. Today the visions and reform strategies are far more modest: the good school is one that prevents an increasing division and exclusion from taking place in society and on the labour market. E.g. the addition in former two-year upper secondary programmes of a third year, passed in 1991, and the recent adult education reform allowing adults to receive upper secondary education are based on such assumptions. In the educational ideology of the Social Democratic party, the decentralisation of decisions regarding schools and education becomes a way to realise the goals of an equal education for everyone, when the old top-down strategy has failed. In other words it is put into the context of an inclusion strategy – or at least a strategy to prevent too

much exclusion. At the same time, a number of economical decisions have been taken by the Social Democrats in order to improve the State finances, which has actually been the prime political goal of the present Social Democratic government. Such measures have led to severe cuts in school budgets, with increasing class sizes, reduced special education and so on, which in all likelihood will produce more 'failures' and 'problem children' in school and society.

In the ideology of the political Right (*Moderaterna*), decentralisation, deregulation and reforms facilitating the establishment of independent schools are important means of promoting variety, competition, excellence and individual freedom. In general, they are regarded as expressions of a conservative 'system shift', a revolt against Social Democratic uniformity and school monopoly. The overall Neoliberal striving to dramatically reduce taxes and thus dismantle politics may be seen in the same light. If increased social differences and exclusion are not an outspoken goal of this policy, they are at least not seen as a major problem. On the contrary: in the conservative-liberal ideology, differences are believed to stimulate efforts and competition, which will be good for everyone in the long run.

The present education system in Sweden

To a large extent the present education system (see Appendix B) is based on reforms carried out when the Swedish model of a welfare state was at its peak in the 1960s and early 1970s. Education was considered the right of all citizens and a means of attaining a modern and anti-totalitarian society. Today the educational costs in Sweden account for approximately 8 % of the GNP (the early childhood education programme not included) and a relatively high share of the resources go to primary and secondary education.[5]

[5] Statistisk årsbok 1996 [Statistical Yearbook 1996]. Norstedts, Stockholm, p. 344.

Early Childhood Education and Day Care

Early childhood education – for children from 0 to 6 years – was expanded in the sixties and seventies. The massive entrance of women into the labour market during this period created the need for public child care. From a social engineering perspective, it was also regarded as a support for families and children, especially those with special needs. In the seventies the municipalities were given the obligation to provide all 6-year-olds with pre-school education. Later they were also given the responsibility of offering child care to children from the age of 18 months, if their parents were working or studying.

Table 1: Children in early childhood education 1994 (A child might participate in different types and is then counted in each type.)[6]

Type	*0-1 year*	*1 year*	*2 year*	*3 year*	*4 year*	*5 year*	*6 year*
Day Care Centre + pre-school groups	155	29 024	55 570	64 162	71 895	75 912	99 862
Municipal and private day care in private homes	151	11 619	18 997	19 424	19 431	17 358	14 365
Total	306	40 643	74 567	83 586	91 326	93 270	114 227

Early childhood education is now *de facto* provided to a rather large share of children. Thus, in 1994 around two thirds of the children had a place in early childhood education (Table 1). The day-care centres are institutions of early childhood education, which are complemented with municipal day care in private homes. Approximately 36,000 of the children in the day care centres do not have Swedish as their mother tongue, of which around one third are given training in their own language.[7]

The struggle concerning early childhood education has concerned quantity (for how many children and for which children) as well as quality (with what curriculum and what resources). During the last

[6] Statistisk årsbok 1996, pp. 303 and 305

[7] Utbildningsstatistisk årsbok 1995 [Statistical Yearbook of Education 1995]. SCB, Halmstad, p. 212.

decade, co-operation between early childhood education and primary education and the issue of an earlier school start has been on the agenda.

Comprehensive education:

The nine-year comprehensive school was implemented in 1962 after a protracted political debate. This integrated school ('a school for everyone') replaced the two earlier parallel school forms – the *Folkskola* and the *Realskola* – where the latter was a path to upper secondary education and higher education. The comprehensive school for children aged 7-16 consists of primary education (grades 1-6) and lower secondary education (grades 7-9), without any streaming or tracking. It has been guided by a national curriculum from the start. However, the current national curriculum, *LpO 94,* is less regulating and adjusted more to steering via goals and results than the earlier curricula.

The number of pupils in comprehensive schools is about 915,000, i.e. each cohort consists of slightly more than 100,000 individuals. Somewhat more than 12%, or 111,000 of all students in the comprehensive school do not have Swedish as their mother tongue. The most frequent foreign languages among Swedish students are Finnish, Arabic, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish and Persian. The Swedish debate concerning education and integration Vs exclusion has often addressed the issue of mother tongue training in schools.

About 5 % of the students leaving grade nine have leaving certificates with missing marks, i e they have not completed comprehensive school. There are approximately 12,000 students in compulsory schools for mentally retarded and approximately 700 students at special schools for children with impaired vision, hearing or speech defects.

Upper secondary education

The *gymnasieskola* – upper secondary education – is not compulsory, but today virtually all adolescents (approximately 98%) enter such a

school after leaving the comprehensive school. After a reform decision in 1991, which was to be gradually implemented during a 3-year period, the former upper secondary programmes and special courses were replaced by a limited number of programmes. With only a few exceptions, these are three years of duration, with a number of common core subjects, providing general eligibility for higher studies. As before, they are all free of charge. In a somewhat longer historical perspective, the present *gymnasieskola* is the result of an integration reform in 1970, when different types of schools for theoretical and vocational education were assembled under the same organisational roof.

In 1994 115,000 students were admitted to upper secondary education, as shown in Table 2. Here we can also follow the development in numbers of students admitted to different programmes and lines since the start of the integrated upper secondary school. As the old form of upper-secondary school was still in existence, there were also special courses that attracted around 33,000 students in 1994. We see that the two-years' courses vanished, due to the reform, and that the work-related courses increased rapidly, while the theoretical programmes increased somewhat slower and actually attract fewer students in the 1990s than before. A recurrent problem has been to attract students to technical and science education of a work-related and theoretical type.

Table 2: Number of students in different programmes/lines in upper secondary education in Sweden 1971-1994. Absolute frequencies.[8]

Programmes / lines	*1971*	*1981*	*1991*	*1993*	*1994*
Theoretical 3 years	30 133	40 677	48 033	46 994	44 364
Theoretical 2 years	21 378	16329	7 037	719	36
Work-related 3 years	-	-	12 541	61 420	69 942
Work-related 2 years	23 961	48 702	35 591	3 540	1 484
Total	75 472	105 698	103 202	112 673	114 581

To a large extent, social origin determines choices of theoretical versus work related programmes. Distinctions in terms of gender are

clearly visible when we analyse the former, but also to some extent when we compare the two theoretical programmes 'Natural Sciences' (36 % females) and 'Social Sciences' (61 % females).

Today, upper secondary education is the subject of a public and political debate. It is argued that large shares of students, and notably students in vocational programmes, do not have the competence or interest required for a prolonged upper secondary education with substantial amounts of general/academic subjects.

Programmes for unemployed young people

From the 1970s onwards unemployment among young people during recessions has been a growing problem, and municipalities and schools have been charged with increased responsibilities to follow up school leavers and create youth unemployment programmes. In the 1990s, the number of young people who are unable to find a job after upper secondary school has risen dramatically; in 1997 122,000 people aged 18-24 years were without jobs, 50% of which participated in some kind of unemployment programme.[9] Among unemployed young people, the low-educated and immigrants are overrepresented.

Higher Education:

Since 1977 all forms of higher education – universities and university colleges – are part of the same organisation, labelled *högskola*, and are subjected to the same rules. The number of places is limited, and roughly 30 % of the adolescents continue to higher education before the age of 25, another 10-15% later on. Higher education is free of charge and is supported by a study assistance scheme. In 1993/94 250,000 students were enrolled in higher education programmes. Of these 56 % were women – a number that however differs considerably depending on which programme you are looking at.

---

[8] Source Utbildningsstatistisk Årsbok 1995, p. 57 and Statistisk årsbok 1996, p 353.

[9] Statistics from the National Labour Market Board, April 1997.

Adult Education

Adult education has been part and parcel of the social movements in Sweden, especially the *folk high schools,* which attract around 20,000 students to various kinds of courses. Municipal adult education offers courses that complement other parts of the educational system, train skills or artistic performance and the arts. Of particular interest are perhaps the study circles – an informal way of reading and discussing – based on the individual or collective interests of the participants. A recent adult education reform, *Kunskapslyftet* (A Raised Level of Knowledge), has the double aims of providing adults with upper secondary education, and at the same time reducing the high unemployment by creating the need for employees who can temporarily substitute the ones who are studying.

In addition to public adult education, staff training and development at the workplace has expanded considerably in Sweden during the last decades, however with significant class- and gender-based differences as to how much and what kind of staff training you get.

Politics of deregulation, decentralisation and freedom of choice in education

Up until the 1980s, the Swedish education system was highly centralised; the educational organisation, curriculum and allocation of resources were regulated in detail by the State. Educational change and development were to a considerable extent carried out as central and large-scale school reforms. Politicians, administrators at the central level, and to some extent educational researchers were regarded as crucial actors in the process of change rather than local politicians, teachers, parents and students. The educational system was part of 'the strong society'[10]. Against this background, the changes of

[10] An expression coined by Prime Minister Tage Erlander in the 1960s, reflecting a very weak distinction between the State and civil society which was rather common at this time, and not only among Social Democrats.

222

educational governance – decentralisation, deregulation and diversification – that took place in Sweden in the 1980s and 1990s were quite dramatic. Below we briefly describe these changes in the form of a chronology of educational change.

A Chronology of Educational Change 1970-1998
(Primary and secondary education)

1970s	Several committees advocate change, meaning increased local control, more flexible resource allocation, and local developmental work. Decisions concerning a new system of State subsidies to schools.
1976	Schools are given the responsibility to follow up and guide students who are unemployed after finishing compulsory education and who do not continue their studies.
1980	A revised national curriculum guide for the comprehensive school, in which decentralization is emphasised. Each school should present a work plan for how to achieve the national goals.
1982	A system of State subsidies to local developmental work and in-service training is introduced to enhance the implementation of the new curriculum guide.
1988/89	Decision on a more clear-cut division between the central and local levels and between the political and executive spheres. Each municipality should decide on a local school plan, supplemented by plans from each school. The teachers and students are responsible for the choice of methods suitable to reaching the educational goals
1989	School teachers and other school staff are employed by the municipalities instead of the State
1990	All State subsidies to the municipalities are given as lump sums, which are to be allocated to different sources by the municipalities themselves. Abolishment of earlier, more detailed regulations
1991	Reform of upper secondary education The municipalities are obliged to provide all young people with some kind of upper secondary education. The decision as to which programmes to offer is handed over to the municipalities from the State
1992	Generous rules to establish independent, tax-funded schools are introduced
1993	Extended possibilities to choose among schools within the municipal system are introduced, as well as a possibility to request tenders for teaching in economic, technical, vocational and aesthetic-practical subjects in upper secondary education. Independent upper secondary schools are allowed

223

1994	A new national curriculum guide (Lpo-94) is introduced.
1996	School boards with a majority of parents are to be tried out. Bill on independent schools

There are some texts of vital importance to read in order to understand recent changes in Sweden. First, there are two national commissions of importance here:

SOU 1990:44: **Demokrati och Makt i Sverige.** Maktutredningens huvudrapport. (Democracy and Power in Sweden. Main report from the National Commission on Power). Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget.
SOU 1993:16 **Nya villkor för ekonomi och politik. Ekonomikommissionens förslag.** (New Conditions for Economy and Politics. Proposal from the National Commission on Economy). Stockholm: Fritzes.

The first commission was appointed by the Social Democrats in the late 1980s and was given the task of studying how power was distributed and how democracy functioned in the Swedish society. The second was appointed by the Conservative government in the early 1990s and deals with current economical and financial problems in state and society.[11]

In 1992 the Conservative government presented its plan for restructuring education in Sweden to the OECD, to which the OECD responded as below:

The Swedish Way Towards a Learning Society. A report to the OECD. Ministry of Education and Science. Stockholm 1992.
OECD 1992. **Review of Education Policy in Sweden. Examiners report and questions**. Paris: DEELSA/ED (92) 5. (Later presented as: OECD (1995) Reviews of national policies of education: Sweden. Paris: OECD.)

[11] For a review, see Lindblad, S & Wallin, E (1993): On transitions of power, democracy and education in Sweden. J of *Curriculum Studies* vol 25, No 1, pp. 77-88.

The OECD took a critical stance to the Swedish report and questioned the idea of restructuring a well-functioning educational system.[12]

There are two other documents from the Conservative and the Social Democratic governments, the so-called plans for development, that are of central importance. The first, a Conservative document from 1993 is similar to the reports to the OECD in 1993. The second development plan was presented by the Social Democrats in 1997.

> Regeringens skrivelse 1993/94:183. Utvecklingsplan för skolväsendet. (Plan of Development for the Educational System). Riksdagen 1993/94. 1 saml Nr 183.
> Regeringens skrivelse 1996/97:112. Utvecklingsplan för förskola, skola och vuxenutbildning – kvalitet och likvärdighet. (Plan of development for early childhood education, schools, and adult education – quality and equity.)

Concluding remarks

The picture of Swedish educational politics in relation to social inclusion and exclusion is complicated. On the one hand, the large educational reforms, from the 1962 comprehensive school reform to the upper secondary school reforms in 1970 and 1991, may be seen as inclusive in character. The following quotation is a good illustration of the basic principles of public education in Sweden:

> One fundamental principle of the Swedish educational system is that everybody must have access to equivalent education, regardless of ethnic and social background and of place of residence. Compulsory and upper secondary school are both comprehensive, designed to accommodate all members of the young generation; and all schools are co-educational. The curricula for compulsory and upper secondary education are valid nation-wide.[13]

However, these integrating principles are perhaps contradicted and challenged by decentralisation and deregulation of education,

---

[12] Lindblad (1994) comments this interaction with the OECD. Lindblad, S (1994): *Imposed professionalization*. Paper presented at the second comparative policy seminar. New policy contexts for education: Sweden and England. Centre for educational research. April 27-29 1995 at Kings College, London.

[13] The Swedish Education System, p 6. Eurydice and the Swedish ministry of education and science, 1995.

225

especially by the voucher system introduced by the Conservatives in 1992 and continued by the Social Democrats in 1994 and the increased opportunities for privatisation and marketisation of education in Sweden. On the other hand, the actual effects of such reforms are still rather limited (e.g. the number of independent schools is as yet rather modest). It could equally well be argued that education contributes to an increasing social exclusion in Sweden today, not so much through active educational reforms, but through the absence of such and due to a lack in resources. The budget cuts that Swedish municipalities have carried out during the last two decades have hit education and childcare harder than other areas. Today, school classes are growing, many schools have made substantial reductions in special education, and students who have failed do not get enough help to improve their knowledge and complete compulsory or upper secondary education. These are just some examples of changes that forcefully challenge the social-integrative aims of education mentioned above.

If Sweden has been a fairly homogenous country with strong, and to some extent, successful political efforts of social integration, there are many tendencies in the 1990s pointing in the other direction. First, there is a new demographic situation in Sweden with a considerably larger share of immigrants (a 'Swedish' categorisation) than some decades ago. Today, more than one fifth of the 16- to 24-year-olds are immigrants or have at least one parent who is an immigrant. In school, students with a 'non-Swedish' mother tongue are often found among dropouts and potential dropouts, and are often in need of special education of different kinds. The increasing housing segregation in cities and municipalities due to increasing differences in rents and prices for apartments and houses is a second prominent feature. A third important feature in the context of social inclusion/exclusion is the rising unemployment figures, especially among young adults. Whereas earlier youth unemployment to a large extent tended to consist of short periods without job, young people today are increasingly long-time unemployed and socially marginalised.

The features mentioned above are often combined. In certain areas, e.g. in several of the suburbs of the cities, we thus find high percentages of immigrants, unemployed people, and people on social welfare, while those in more privileged situations are concentrated in other areas. This, in turn, has implications for the premises of schooling in different (segregated) parts of communities. While the number of children and adolescents who are in need of extra help and support in school is growing, there have been substantial cuts in the resources allocated to schools. The sizes of the classes have grown and the resources for special education have been reduced. In other words schools now have fewer possibilities of dealing with the problems of children and young people in the Swedish society of today.

References

Esping-Andersen, G (1996). *Welfare States in Transition. National Adaptions in Global Economics*. London: Sage

Eurydice and the Swedish ministry of education and science 1995: *The Swedish Education System*, p 6.

Lijphart, A & Crepaz, M L 1991: Corporatism and Consensus Democracy in Eighteen Countries: Conceptual and Empirical Linkages. *British Journal of Political Science* 21, pp 235-256

Lindblad, S 1994: *Imposed professionalization*. Paper presented at the second comparative policy seminar. New policy contexts for education: Sweden and England. Centre for educational research. April 27-29 1995 at Kings College, London

Lindblad, S & Wallin, E 1993: On transitions of power, democracy and education in Sweden. J of *Curriculum Studies* vol 25, No 1, pp. 77-88.

Statistics from the National Labour Market Board, April 1997.

Statistisk årsbok 1996 [Statistical Yearbook 1996]. Norstedts, Stockholm, pp 303, 305, 344, 353.

SOU 1990:44. Demokrati och makt i Sverige. Maktutredningens huvudrapport [Democracy and Power in Sweden. Main report from the State commission on power and democracy]. Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget.

Utbildningsstatistisk årsbok 1995 [Statistical Yearbook of Education 1995]. SCB, Halmstad, pp 57, 212.

Appendix A. Research and analyses on education governance and restructuring in Sweden

As was shown above, changes in education governance have been on the agenda since the 1970s. However, critical discussions of those changes have been absent to a large extent. Below are a few texts that actually deals with such changes:

Ahlström, K-G.: Gör skolan effektivare. Några nygamla idéer. *Forskning om Utbildning 15, No 3*, p 4-19.

Carlgren, I. 1994: Curriculum as a social compromise or an accident. In Kallós, D. & Lindblad, S. (Eds): New Policy Contexts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom. *Educational Reports, Umeå University, 42.*

Dale, R. 1993: Marketing the market and the polarization of schooling. In Kallós D. & Lindblad, S.(Eds): New Policy Contexts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom. *Educational Reports, Umeå University, 42*

Daun, H. 1993: *Omstrukturering av skolsystemen. Decentralisering, valfrihet och privatisering. En internationell översikt* (Restructuring of Education. Decentralisation, freedom of choice and privatisation. An international overview). Stockholm: Skolverket.

Daun, H. 1998: Omstrukturering av det svenska skolsystemet. *Pedagogisk Forskning i Sverige. Vol 2*, No 3, pp 161-181.

Englund, T. 1994: New international trends for Swedish schools – Marketization, Privatization, Religiousization, Languagization. In Kallós & Lindblad, (Eds): New Policy Contexts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom. *Educational Reports, Umeå University, 42.*

Englund, T. (Ed) 1995: *Utbildningspolitiskt systemskifte?* (A System Shift of Educational Politics?) Stockholm: HLS Förlag.

Falkner, K. 1995: Restruktureringen av den svenska skolan – en hegemonikris (Restructuring Swedish Education – a Hegemony Crisis). *Nordisk Pedagogik, vol 15*, No 3, pp 130-139

Gewirtz, S. 1995: Market discipline versus comprehensive education: a case study of a London comprehensive school struggling to survive in the education market place. In Kallos, D & Lindblad, S (Eds). New Policy Contexts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom. *Educational Reports, Umeå University, 42.*

Kallós, D. 1996: Reflections on decentralization as a concept in education policy analysis – Sweden as an example. In Sander, T & Vez, J M. (Eds) 1996: Life-Long Learning in European Teacher Education. *European Yearbook of Comparative Studies in Teacher Education*, pp 249-263.

Kallos, D. & Lindblad, S. (Eds) 1994: New Policy Contexts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom. *Educational Reports, Umeå University, 42.*

Kallós, D. & Lundahl-Kallós, L. 1994: Recent changes in teachers' work in Sweden. In Kallós, D. & Lindblad, S. (Eds): New Policy Contexts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom. *Educational Reports, Umeå University, 42*

Kallós, D. & Nilsson, I. 1995: Defining and re-defining the teacher in the Swedish comprehensive school. *Educational Review, 47*, pp.173-188.

Lindblad, S. 1994: *Imposed professionalization*. Paper presented at the second comparative policy seminar. New policy contexts for education: Sweden and England. Centre for educational research. April 27-29 1995 at Kings College, London.

Lindblad, S. 1996: *Loyalty, Exit or Voice? Transitions of Governance of Education in Sweden*. Invited address to "Lev Vygotsky 1896-1996: The Cultural Historical Approach: Progress in Human Sciences and Education". Moscow October 21-24, 1996.

Lindblad, S. & Wallin, E. 1993: On transitions of power, democracy and education in Sweden. *Journal of Curriculum Studies Vol 25*, No 1, pp. 77-88.

Lundahl, L. 1990: New variations on old themes: the Swedish Conservative Party and the battle over comprehensive education 1900-1985. *Journal of Education Policy, Vol 5*, No 2, pp. 157-166.

Lundahl, L. 1995: *Something borrowed and something new. The study of education policy: its scope and limits*. Paper presented at the second comparative policy seminar. New policy contexts for education: Sweden and England. Centre for educational research. April 27-29 1995 at Kings College, London

Lundahl, L. 1997: *Efter svensk modell. LO, SAF och utbildningspolitiken 1944-90* (Following the Swedish Model. The Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions, the Swedish Employers Confederation, and Education politics 1944-90). Umeå: Boréa.

Lundahl, L. 1998: *Still the Step-child of Swedish Educational Politics? Vocational education and training in Sweden in the 1990s*. Paper presented at the Swedish-German expert seminar on recent developments in Vocational Education and Training, September 1997, Umeå (to be published in the electronic journal of the Thematic Network of Teacher Education in Europe, TNTEE).

Miron, G. (Ed) 1993a: *Towards free choice and market-oriented schools*. Skolverkets rapport nr 2. Stockholm: IIE

Miron, G. 1993b: Choice and the use of market forces in schooling. Swedish educational reforms for the 1990s. *Studies in Comparative and International Education, No 25*. Stockholm University.

Nilsson, I. (Ed) 1989: *Skilda lärohus. Privat och offentlig undervisning: växelverkan, altenativ, förnyelseformer* (Separate Houses of Learning. Private and public education, interaction, alternatives and forms of innovation). Lund: Dialogos.

Rodhe, B. & Nilsson, J. 1990: Revolution från höger – en lägesrapport från engelsk utbildningspolitik vid 1980-talets slut (Revolution from the Right – Report of the Situation of English Educational Politics at the end of the 1980s). *Forskning on Utbildning 17*, No1, pp 36-48.

Rothstein, B. 1988: Noteringar om offentligt och privat inom skolvärlden (Notes on Public and Private in the World of Education). *Forskning on Utbildning 15*, No 3, pp 29-34.

Söderström, L. 1987: Kvalitet genom valfrihet (Quality Through Freedom of Choice). *Forskning om Utbildning 14*, No 4, s 31-41.

230

UNITED KINGDOM

The Cases of England and Scotland within the UK

Jenny Ozga & Martin Lawn

Introduction

The paper falls into five parts. Firstly, it considers the issue of governance in relation to the separate systems of England and Scotland within the UK. Next, it provides a very brief guide to the main features of the educational landscape in the two systems. Thirdly, it considers the impact of neo-liberalism on both England and Scotland, and provides details of the implementation of marketisation in the education systems of both countries. Fourthly, it considers evidence in relation to social exclusion/inclusion and the reinvention of government under the Conservatives and in the current period of New Labour, considering how issues of social justice and education are being constructed into a synthesis of the market/ community (the Third Way). Finally, there is a section on Social Data, where some useful indicators of possible trends in social exclusion are reproduced.

Issues of Governance

The cases of England and Scotland within the UK offer particularly interesting perspectives on the education governance-exclusion/inclusion relationship, for the following reasons:

- The United Kingdom offers a unique model of governance; it is governed through the UK Parliament at Westminster, but the relative autonomy of the national sub-systems (of Wales, Northern

Ireland and Scotland) is recognised to varying degrees through separate provision through government Departments (the Welsh Office, the Scottish Office, and the Northern Ireland Office) that administer key areas in each sub-system from bases located in each nation's capital cities. The federal nature of this arrangement will become clearer with the creation of separate Assemblies for Wales and Scotland in 1999.

- The separate national sub-systems have retained some political integrity. In the case of Scotland, this has meant that while the Conservative party controlled the UK from 1979-1997; the majority of the electorate voted either for Labour or for the Scottish Nationalists; the UK governing Party had no 'local' mandate.
- The main areas of 'separate development' permitted to Scotland by the UK Parliament have been Law and Education. The significance of Education as an area of cultural difference increased in the period of Conservative hegemony and produced a rearticulation of principles of inclusion in the face of the UK government's pressure for the operationalisation of neo-liberal principles in education.

The two-education systems-England and Scotland, have, therefore, been the focus of activity by reforming UK governments, and continue to form contrasting sites of education governance. At all levels-from 'central' and sub-central government, to local education authorities, institutions and organisations, there are contextually shaped responses to the overall pressures to reinvent government. That reinvention has been aimed at the transformation of the Keynesian Welfare State to the neo-Liberal small strong state, and is currently preoccupied with the creation of the Schumpeterian Workfare State, following Labour's election victory in 1997.

The Landscape of Provision

(1) England

England has a complex system of provision, with a variety of schools and agencies involved in their management. The system is the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, within the Department for Education and Employment (DFEE). Maintained (state) secondary schools are provided by the Local Education Authorities and funded through a mix of local taxation and central allocation of funding to the LEAs. Maintained schools within an LEA may be comprehensive, or grammar, or a mix of both. In addition the DFEE funds City Technology Colleges (specialist technology schools) and there are also Grant Maintained schools (GMS), which are funded through the government-controlled Funding Agency for Schools. The funding of these schools and their ability to operate selection is under review at the time of writing. The Labour government's proposals do not depart from the previous administration's desire to encourage choice by promoting diversity in provision. Schools are also segregated by sex (nos) and, to a degree, by religion.

In addition to the state system, England has a flourishing independent school sector, which operates across all levels of provision, from preparatory 'prep' schools from age 3, through various levels of performance to the elite 'public' schools that provide entrance to the Oxbridge Colleges. About 7% of the school population attends private schools; some of these are undistinguished in their academic performance, and some provide idiosyncratic schooling for those who object to regulation. The influence of the elite public schools on politics and public life is, however, very considerable.

Primary school provision is more uniform, though here too it is possible for schools to 'opt out' of LEA control and become GMS schools.

The Fabric of Provision

There is enormous diversity in the fabric of English school provision. These differences may be seen in contrasting state and 'public' school facilities where considerable differences in resource levels may be seen by comparing age and condition of buildings, staff-student ratios, provision of laboratories and technical equipment, sports facilities, and so on. These contrasts can also be seen across different regions in England, where patterns of expenditure have been partly determined by local economic patterns. Thus some of the larger conurbations whose economies were dependent on traditional industries have serious difficulties with the maintenance of 19th century educational plant, or with the management of schools built cheaply in the 1960s. The transfer of financial management to the centre (away from the LEAs) accompanied by devolution of responsibility for budgetary management to the schools in the 1990s has exacerbated the difficulties of those schools not in a strong market position, who have been unable to raise resources through parental subscription or through the sale of assets (like school playing fields).

(2) Scotland

The Scottish system is much less complicated than the English one. Official sources describe public sector education as a partnership between central and local government. The Scottish Local authorities (SLAs) were reorganised by the outgoing Conservative government which had been frustrated in its efforts to marketise Scottish provision by resistance from the nine large Scottish Regions, notably Strathclyde Region, which was the largest local education authority in Europe. These nine regions were big enough to form an effective sub-government, and together with teachers and parents groups, to effectively subvert the policies of the Scottish Office when these were seen to be inappropriate. The division of these large entities into 32 unitary councils is bound to have an impact on governance, as is the establishment of the Scottish Assembly, but it is not at all clear what direction change will take.

231

Scottish school provision is integrated from age 5 to 16, and is almost wholly publically provided and comprehensive in its organisation. The system itself is small, with just over 2,300 primary and 400 secondary schools. The size of the system and its history have encouraged reliance on centrally-driven provision and the acceptance, within broad and well-understood parameters, that this is a 'good thing'.There is a strong belief, widely held by the public, that Scottish education is good. There is considerable public support for teachers, who remain a relatively high status profession, especially by comparison with their English counterparts. In 1965 the Scots established a General Teaching Council (GTC) for Scotland, which exercises joint responsibility with the Secretary of State for the quality of the profession. The GTC, through the Teacher Unions (really only one major union), has a strong influence on policy development and implementation.

Illustrative Statistics

- Education is Scotland's fourth largest employer with 10% of all service sector employees.
- GDP in Scotland totalled £50.7 billion in 1995, an increase of 21% since 1986
- 67% of school pupils stay in school beyond the compulsory leaving age of 16 (95/96 figures)
- 45% of school leavers go on to higher or further education. (This is now rumoured to be 60%; need to check stats)
- 14% of school leavers enter youth training.
- Thus a large percentage of the school population continues voluntarily in education, and there is a healthy adult education participation rate.
- 17% of all of the UKs full-time higher education undergraduates study in Scottish higher education institutions, though Scotland at 5.1 million has only 8.8% of the UK population.

These differences reflect different histories of development in England and Scotland. Very briefly, Scotland's provision was centrally legislated for from the 14th century, linked to the parish and hence to the church, and uniformly available. As provision was extended in the 18th and 19th centuries, it remained state linked (church and State were indivisible), and operated on a principle of uniform and accessible provision, open to talents. Exclusion operated by gender, not by class. The Scots system echoed the French commitment to the *carriere ouverte aux talents* in its *lad o pairts*. So there is a strong egalitarian and universalistic tenor to the system that remains in place and that has proven resistant to the attempts to devolve governance to institutions and to use competition in order to improve performance.

This, of course, is a rather rosy picture of a system that has invested some energy in propagating a view of itself as not only excellent but also as fostering 'the democratic intellect'. Myths always have some value, however, and it is interesting to see how powerful the myth of equality of access has been in the defence of Scottish education by parents and teachers in recent years. There are undoubtedly areas that contradict the myth, however. Although evidence fro the Centre for Educational Sociology at Edinburgh university shows steady year on year improvement in attainment rates since 1976, it is obvious that those gaining least are the sons and daughters of unemployed and unskilled parents (McPherson and Willms 1987). There is evidence of chronic underachievement in schools on the West Coast of Scotland, especially in Glasgow, with high proportions of immigrant (Catholic Irish) children.

The period of change: Neo-Liberalism

The period of Conservative Government saw the attempted reinvention of government driven by faith in the market. It has been suggested by some commentators (Johnson, Green, Seddon) that the turning away from the Keynesian Welfare state towards the re-creation of a Neo-Liberal state was achieved more completely in

England than elsewhere in the UK or Europe because of the long history of the dominance of laissez-faire principles in England. Other contributory factors, it is argues, were lack of 'civic' consciousness ('there is no such thing as society, only individual men and women and their families'), reflected in relatively weak local government, and the continued salience of social class differences.

The following principles informed the reshaping of governance:

1. Individuals know better than the state what is good for them,
2. The market is a more just and efficient mechanism for the distribution of goods and services than the KWS
3. Inequality between groups and individuals is a natural feature of society and cannot be overcome by socially remedial action
4. State agencies are nearly always malign and inefficient
5. The role of the state should be minimised.

Legislating the Market

Following a period in which relationships between different groups in education were refashioned-notably by privileging parental rights and identifying teachers and LEAs as sources of underachievement, the Conservative government embarked on a major programme of legislation that attempted to put these principles into practice. For the most part, they were intended to apply throughout the UK, but they were often rather limited in their impact on Scotland (we deal with these differences later).

The 1988 Education Reform Act was the most important individual piece of legislation designed to achieve, in the school system:

- the breaking up of state and professional monopolies so as to provide a choice of service providers for consumers and to ensure competition between providers,
- the removal of state support and subsidies from providers, so that there is a purer form of competition allowing the most efficient to succeed,

- the provision of reliable information to consumers (through various kinds of performance indicators)
- the creation and fostering of consumer choice

The main applications in education in England are as follows:

- the breaking of LEA monopoly through the establishment of Grant Maintained (GMS) schools and support for independent schools,(GMS schools are best described as state-private schools)
- the publication of more information (compulsory prospectus) and of comparative information (league tables)
- the provision of greater flexibility in admissions (open enrolment) to support choice,
- the encouragement of business expertise in school governance
- the opening of service provision, traditionally provided by LEAs, to competitive tender and private purchase,
- competitive tendering for school inspection (that Inspection to be carried out by OFSTED-the Office for Standards in Education, in a 3/4 year cycle, the results to be published. Inspection has serious consequences for recruitment, staffing, and funding, and, indeed, for the future of the school)
- Local Management of Schools (LMS), through which LEAs were obliged to transfer budgets and responsibility for managing them directly to individual schools.

The 1988 Act contained these applications, and also established a National Curriculum with a core curriculum of maths, english and science and a six-subject foundation curriculum with RE, Attainment targets were introduced and tests implemented at 7, 11, 14 and 16. Results from these tests were published as League Tables of performance.

The National Curriculum and assessment package produced a standard product so that parents could choose good quality;

responsibility for improving quality was in the hands of the self-managing schools.

Further legislation to promote the market was contained in the 1993 Education Act "Choice and Diversity" which offered further support for the creation of Grant Maintained Schools (ie schools outside LEA control). The Funding Agency for Schools (FAS) was established, to manage centrally the allocation of funds to support GMS schools. The Act also established "Education Associations", appointed by the Secretary of State, who could take over and run 'failing' schools.

Changes designed to introduce the principles outlined above were also introduced throughout the 1990s in post-compulsory education (Further and Higher), and in the professional formation and development of teachers).

This summary of the main features of the introduction of neo-Liberal principles into education does not tell us sufficient about the extent and nature of the change. To appreciate that we need to look at the history of provision, particularly in England, because it is this history that helps to explain why markets have become "an English obsession" (Seddon 1997).

Education in the Post War Period

Pre 1939 limited social distributive or service obligations on the state school were consolidated in the legislation and discussion surrounding the major post war Education Act in 1944. Earlier services, such as the medical and charitable, and welfare, such as the school meals service, were integrated more fully into the education service. This was partly due to the success of the school as an institutional site of wartime welfare and mobilization and by the establishment of advanced welfare services which were then integrated with the school (child welfare, prenatal care etc); most of all, education was seen within the 19944 Act as a public good, a part of the new welfare society. This `distributed` system was claimed to rest on `consensus` about education policy. That `consensus` could be summarized as follows:

a) that universal education provided by the state could bring about peaceful social change and ameliorate some of the harsher injustices caused by class divisions,
b) that an educated workforce was a prerequisite for economic growth.

The Act, with its positive policy on education reform and its conservative use of pupil (and social class) types, produced an education system with a powerful discourse of reconstruction and meritocratic reform and a limiting and administrative design for implementation, based on a divided school system, local bureaucracies and central policy and advisory committees. It was a design for a stable, national system in which economic growth would deliver a limited equality of opportunity and a basic system for everyone.

At the same time, although new schools may have included shared local services (libraries, welfare centres etc), they were distinguished by the same principles of institutional construction, common to other contemporary state designs, based on fordist production ideas, such as economy of scale, management hierarchies, rules and procedures etc.

> We built public services on the assumption of certainty for a world in which the problems faced were known and the challenges clear, so we built services on a uniform basis, limiting choice, and we built an enclosed organisation that limited public assess and public input in the process of decision-making. [Stewart, J. et al (1991) `Meeting Needs in the 1990s: The future of public schools and the challenge for trade unions. Institute for Public Policy Research]

But

> The public sector has been an awkward territory for fordism. Many of its services are delivered by skilled professionals - doctors, teachers and social workers - who have resisted the attempts of the 'scientific managers' to fragment their jobs and standardise them. [Murray, R. 'The State After Henry' Marxism Today May 1991]

This system is said to have broken down for several reasons: firstly, an energy crisis, creating a fiscal crisis as production could not be

protected and the social costs of welfare became politically insupportable; secondly, the political crisis as the social corporatism, expressed as a partnership between industry, the state and employees, could not deliver social goods and a raised standard of living; thirdly, the increasing difficulty of trying to solve economic and political questions within national boundaries as new technologies and multi-nationals, in a trading nation (like the UK), make boundaries permeable or invisible. A key statement at the time represents the beginning of this policy shift:

> It was vital to Britain's economic recovery and standard of living that the performance of manufacturing industry was improved and that the whole range of Government policies, including education, contribute as much as possible to improving industrial performance and thereby increasing national wealth (DES 1977, p.6)

The Impact of History on English provision

The history of English provision has a marked impact on current provision and problems, especially those relating to exclusion. Specific historical conditions in England -in particular the emergence of the system in a 19th century liberal state, with a tradition of voluntarism, which fostered a remarkable degree of social exclusion and inequality. It is also a state that was set against intervention in the economy. Its ruling class was not an industrial class, and the early industrial revolution produced wealth without state intervention or investment. As a consequence there is historically based continuing weakness in technical education, in high quality mass education, and there remains a large and politically-powerful private sector. State education thus developed in unsystematic and unplanned ways, sometimes in response to pressure Lack of central planning and direction, and a devolved system of power sharing with the local authorities, were strategies that permitted the covert protection of differentiation and stratification. Initially these were natural responses to the diversity of ability in the population, so that institutions were developed separately for different kinds of pupil, in a hierarchy of

241

esteem that matched the hierarchy of ability of academic down to vocational. Bureaucrats took responsibility for the successful matching of opportunity and talent. Later, after Thatcher, the same broad outcomes were achieved by encouraging the parent/consumer to choose appropriate opportunities for their child.

It was not until the 1944 Education Act that secondary education became available to all who were academically able, rather than those who had both ability and income. That Act uses the language of citizenship and entitlement, but it consolidated a differentiated system, in which technical education failed to flourish, and the academic/vocational divide was firmly entrenched in separate provision for different kinds of pupil. (who were, with the exception of those provided with a ladder of opportunity, from separate social classes)

Although this post-war period is characterised as one of consensus and partnership in which the framework of modern state provision was belatedly established, it is possibly more helpful to see it as a period in which elite groups preserved and protected the stratified and selective system that served their interests well, while permitting some necessary but limited expansion of opportunity. The period sees the preoccupation of policy-makers with defence of academic education on the public school model, and the consequent neglect of the development of anything other than very basic and obsolescent provision for everyone else. Although the 1960s and 1970s saw the comprehensivisation of English schooling, some caution is needed in interpreting this. The process of going comprehensive was frequently a surface one, in which hierarchies of esteem and resourcing were maintained though names were changed. The retention of an element of selection and of different kinds of private and state-private schools allowed hierarchies to persist. Although the private sector is relatively small, it is very influential, and recent years have seen the proliferation of private/state school forms.

As Will Hutton says:

> The wider processes of social exclusion and their dependence on privatisation are laid bare by these schools. It is not only that parental income becomes the crucial determinant of future status, but the value system that justifies such inequality is compelled to reject ideas of citizenship, inclusion and universalism

There was only a limited period of engagement with universalism, and that was often teacher-driven, but it went against the grain of differentiation, and was short-lived. The period of neo-liberal rule from 1979 onwards encouraged the revival of hierarchies of esteem, and marketised policies have reinforced that revival.

As Richard Johnson (1989) argues, differentiation is the hallmark of English education. It is present in the public/private-voluntary divide, and in state schooling it moves from the elementary - secondary split to the grammar-secondary-modern split, and then to the direct grant/grammar-grant-maintained school comprehensive split. Differentiation is not just endemic in institutions but in curricula, the most persistent being the academic/vocational divide. These divisions are like geological strata; the attempt to provide comprehensive schooling was placed uneasily on top of them, and neo-liberalism revealed and then reinforced the fault lines.

Again, Richard Johnson's commentary on the neo-liberal reforms of the 1980s and 1990s conveys this recreation of the divided pre-war system:

> some thoroughly nineteenth century features re-emerge; charitable trusts, limited, proprietorial conceptions of the public, appeals to pin-striped-trousered philanthropists. So how can these shifts of power be explained? They conform to the classic dynamic of laissez faire. State interventions are rendered essential, first to establish market conditions, and then to deal with the consequences. The government must crush local authorities, the major source of resistance to its plans. It must then introduce some guarantees into the system in the shape of the national curriculum. This allows control of freedom. It does not trust the people as parents any more than it trusts the teachers, it regulates both. This state-enhancing dynamic need not surprise, unless we continue to think of the market, ideologically, as freedom or spontaneous provision. Free markets are really systems off social relationships that must be sustained by coercion or consent. They need appropriate superstructures.Far from

being a modernisation, it seems a massive reversion: back to the combination of tight curriculum control and dispersed localism of the pre-1870 voluntary system.

Making sense of Changes in Governance

The Conservative governments of 1979-1997 set about re-inventing government very much in the form proposed by Osborne and Gaebler (1992)-that is they moved in the following directions:

- steering service delivery (not rowing)
- empowering rather than serving communities
- funding outcomes, not inputs
- meeting consumer needs, not needs of bureaucracy
- earning rather than spending
- prevention rather than cure
- from hierarchy to participation and teamwork

(Osborne and Gaebler 1992)

The apparent contradiction of simultaneous centralisation and decentralisation is explained by the need to ensure the favourable conditions in which a market could operate. Thus, the national curriculum, which lays down what will be taught and how it will be assessed, is part of the project of informing consumer choice and removing bureaucratic-professional control.

Where there is a contradiction it lies in the concern of Conservative administrations not only to use the NC as a vehicle for choice, but as the form of transmission of a 'national' culture. The NC is a conservative cultural form, and it is associated with a return to traditional pedagogy. These features illustrate the underside of the market-driven reforms. The concerns to create a particular form of identity and to restore authority are also, of course, issues of governance.

Other forms of central control mentioned above, for example the establishment of the FAS-are to do with creating alternatives to local

authority provision. Funding is now much more centrally determined, local authorities policy-making capacity is much reduced as they are squeezed between autonomous schools and central government. These strong interventions in funding and in regulation of practice (for example through Inspection) provide resource for the consumer but are very limited in their recognition of accountability to the citizen.

Governance and Exclusion/Inclusion

The operation of market principles in education is connected to ideas of inclusion and exclusion through the idea of 'desert' or deservingness. It is assumed, in rational choice theory, that individuals make informed calculations of benefit to themselves, and act upon these calculations. It is accepted that some individuals will make the wrong choices, or will demonstrate less competence in the calculation of benefit. For example, they will be more concerned that their child is 'happy' at school than that s/he is academically challenged. Such miscalculation renders the individual unworthy, lacking in deservingness, and thus the consequences of mistaken choice are just and appropriate.

This element of qualification for market goods has led some theorists to suggest that markets are by their nature unequitable and inclined to deepen already-existing inequalities (Jonathon). Some research in England supports that claim, notably the work of Gewirtz et al (1996) which explores the operation of parental choice in inner London secondary schools. The researchers found that:

- the market was a middle-class form of social engagement
- parental choice of school is 'race' and class informed
- schools are increasingly oriented towards meeting the perceived demands of middle class parents
- English schooling is being de-comprehensivised.

The researchers also found that schools had prided themselves on good provision for children with special educational needs were

moving away from such provision, as it was not a good selling point in the marketplace, and that the numbers of exclusions (i.e. permanent removal from a school) had increased dramatically as schools removed their low value clients and replaced

In Scotland, research on attempts to introduce market principles has produced interesting evidence of a lack of match with the context. Pamela Munn and her colleagues studied the impact of DMS (devolved school management) in Scotland and compared it with schools operating LMS in England. DMS is only one element of the programme of reform attempted since 1988, but in her review of that issue, heads, teachers and parents in Scotland took issue with the whole philosophy of reform. The report identifies the following key areas as problems in introducing market-oriented provision:

- cultural distinctiveness-where policies are seen as antipathetic to distinctive aspects of culture which are highly valued, they are likely to be resisted. Many education reforms have thus come adrift in Scotland (see mcPherson and Raab 1988, Munn1995, Arnott 1992)
- historical tradition-long-standing relationships, eg among secondary schools or between secondary schools and their associated primary schools may be highly valued and resistant to change. Likewise networks of headteachers and subject teachers can promote co-operation and inhibit competition
- teachers' professionalism; beliefs, values and attitudes of teachers do not necessarily accord with ideology of market
- satisfaction with status quo; there may be a high degree of satisfaction with the way things have worked in the past, thus parents may regard themselves as having been well-served by their schools and parents and schools may feel well-served by the Local authority.There may also be attachment to the view that schools and education authorities should be accountable to the local electorate.

The researchers found these factors to be significant in explaining the lack of operationalisation of the market at school and education authority level. Geography also played a part (as it is difficult to foster competition where there is one school in a sparsely-populated rural area), but the rejection of reform was understood by the researchers as stemming from a view of the school as a community, rather than an individual, resource. And from strong support for inclusiveness as a basic principle of provision. What was being evidenced here, then, were preferences for the 'voice' and 'loyalty', rather than the 'exit' options, in education governance.

New Labour and Education: the managerial state: Market Regulation / Social Integration 1997 -

The installation of a new Labour Government (after a gap of 18 years) has lead to a redefinition of purpose and to a limited degree of structure: the quasi market is still in place but there is a stronger modernizing tendency (focussed on workable solutions to school effectiveness and national goals and plans that together define the managerial state) and a communitarian discourse (integration within a diversity but with protection of the excluded).

Social trends in education include

- increasing differentiation among teachers/ rewards
- intensification of work
- controlled pedagogic styles and increased setting/ banding of pupils
- rise of supervision and managerial skills and responsibilities
- rapid rise of new class of classroom or learning assistants

Within Labour a discourse of community (viewed a site of social obligations and individual responsibility and a renewal of the post war idea of 'one nation') shapes social policy within a market based frame

(this discourse distinguishes this government from its predecessor). The new government set up a Social Exclusion Unit and defined its concerns –

> Social exclusion is a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown.

In policy terms, the Unit acts to integrate government department policies and create joint actions (on tax, childcare and single parents, the homeless, poor housing estates etc). The task in education has been defined in two ways at the moment: raising standards of numeracy and literacy in all schools (through targets and task forces, specialists in each local authority, a refocussing of the national curriculum etc) and school exclusions and truancy reduction and improvement. School exclusion figures show a steady rise; this policy focus was introduced an act of social responsibility towards the child and as a preventative social policy (reducing youth crime and drug taking). Within the PM's speeches on SE, the figure of 100,000 children not attending school is used and also, that 5 million families are without wage earners.

Stakeholding and the Third Way: Future Social/ Education Policy

Key features of this new direction, aiming to be the new middle way between socialism and capitalism, is that

- there is a strong belief in individual responsibility
- local governments must enhance their democratic legitimacy - consultation etc
- central government will set targets that local organisations have to meet: literacy and numeracy targets for schools, effectiveness targets for hospitals, etc. A combination of freedom of action about how to meet centrally set targets and responsibility for failure.

There is a governmental pragmatism about means in which the distinction between public and private (between private and public sector and between capitalism and state) is not recognised. The ends justify the means.

The political problem is that

- there is a massive increase in inequality, resulting from the fact that the productivity gains engendered by the new capitalism have been siphoned off by a new techno-managerial elite, and there is an increasing gap between those in work and those without work
- the progressive casualisation of labour - middle-class as well as working-class.
- the steady erosion of the public domain in which citizenship rights trump market power and an ethic of service trumps individual utility maximisation. (David Marquand/ Nexus Discussion 1998)

Final Thoughts

In comparative education at the moment, the case of the UK (though probably only England) is seen as an exemplar of radical and thorough restructuring of society and (in this case) its education system; it is seen as almost unique in the attempt to radically overhaul every part of the system. It is seen as a prime case of economic and cultural globalization. This may be an error; it has been argued that what was happening in England was a cultural restorationist movement and an anti-professional strategy. It was not the 80s educational policies themselves which were unusual within the English system but their radical re-assertion and re-insertion within the educational system after a period of consensus. Private schools, differentiated schools and teachers, exclusion from education and training, different levels of funding, indifference to inequality and an ideology of innate ability etc are all features of 20thC English schooling, even within the period of post war consensus.

A problematic for our research project will be the need to separate the radical, hegemonic discourse of new governance from its actions (and likely outcomes). There is no longer a public domain in which alternatives can be sought and social movements with education interests are not common. However, new education policies may not be working; there seems to be an inverse relation produced between positive policy announcements and the crisis or problem they are addressed to e.g regular high profile campaigns on teacher supply have no affect on the rapid decline in student teachers. The greater the number of press releases from the DFEE, the greater the chance that they are addressed to a minority of problems and agencies while appearing to be universal. Underneath this policy 'noise' it is still unclear what effects are related to educational policy, to globalizing economies and to residual and consistent cultural responses embedded in the society. The last point is important as although Thatcherism has been regarded as a break with the past, in reality it was a return to an older past, and one that has been the dominant 20thC influence in policy making and cultural reproduction in England. The cult of the consumer, the individual and cultural conservatism were the dominant features of English education policy and social exclusion the norm for much of this century. So, in the project, what is going to be seen by us as the significant factor and what is going to be the silenced feature will be important.

If there is continuity in the inequitable structuring of English Education, how far do shifts in governance effect outcomes? Do we know if exclusion (as measured by credentialism) was greater or less in the post-war bureaucratic public service system than it is in the marketised system? Does it now effect different groups in different ways?

References

Arnott, M et al 1995: Devolved Management; variations of response in Scottish school boards' in Pole, C & Chawla-Duggan R (Eds): *Reshaping Education in the 1990s: Perspectives on Secondary Schooling*. London: Falmer

DfEE 1995: *National Survey of Local Education Authorities' Policies and Procedures for the Identification of, and Provision for, Children who are out of school by reason of Exclusion or Otherwise*. London: Department for Education and Employment.

Gewirtz, S. Ball, S.J. & Bowe, R. 1996: *Markets, Choice and Equity in Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Green, A 19 : *Education and State Formation* London: Macmillan

Hutton, W. 1995: *The State We're in*. London: Jonathon Cape.

Johnson, R 1989: Thatcherism and English Education: breaking the mould or confirming the pattern? *History of Education Review vol.18*

McPherson, A.F & Raab, C. 1988: *Governing Education; a sociology of policy since 1945*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

McPherson A.F. & Willms J.D. 1987: Equalisation and Inprovement: some effects of comprehensive reorganisation in Scotland. *Sociology vol.21, no.4*

Munn, P et al 1995: *Market-oriented Reforms in England and Scotland* Workingpaper, invitational seminar , University of Edinburgh, October.

Murray, R.: The State After Henry' Marxism Today May 1991 DES 1977 Educating our Children London: HMSO.

Osborne & Gaebler 1992: *Reinventing Government: how the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the public sector*. Reading, MA, Addison-Wesley

Seddon 1997: Markets and the English; rethinking educational restructuring as institutional design. *British Journal of Sociology of Education vol.18 no.2*

Stewart, J. et al 1991: *Meeting Needs in the 1990s: The future of public services and the challenge for trade unions*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

David Marquand/ Nexus Discussion 1998: Nexus is a policy discussion forum and advisory to the Government.

251

Social Data

Table 1

Social Security Expenditure	GDP
1979	9%
1997	13%

Table 2

Maintained schools, pupils and teacher				
	1979/80	**1993/94**	**1994/95**	**Change (%)**
Number of schools				
Nursery	592	552	551	-6.9
Primary	21242	18683	18551	-12.7
Secondary	4584	3629	3614	-21.2
Number of pupils (FTE/ thousands)				
Nursery schools	31.3	30.8	30.7	-1.9
Primary schools	4285.6	4093.6	4159.0	-3.0
Secondary schools	3809.9	2933.6	2992.9	-21.4
Total number of school teachers employed (FTE/ thousands)	438.14	390.42	392.92	-10.3
Independent schools				
Number of pupils (thousands)	527.6	555.9	556.6	+5.5
Percentage of pupils in Independent schools	5.9	7.1	7.0	+1.1
Special education				
Number of pupils for whom a statement is maintained (thousands)	158.6	192.3	217.4	+37.1
As a percentage of all pupils	2.0	2.4	2.7	+0.7

Interpretations

Significant decline in numbers of pupils and schools ; a combination of pop decline and govt squeeze on school places

Increase in independent school sector: choice and disposable income

Rise in number of statemented pupils : pupils which the mainstream school system wishes to remove from their institutions into special schools; trying to exclude pupils can lead to statementing.

Table 3 Pupil Exclusions

Year	Number of Permanent Pupil Exclusions
1990/1	2, 910
1991/2	3, 833
1992/3	8, 636
1993/4	11, 181
1994/5	12, 458
1995/6	13, 581

Source: DfEE 1995

Information:

Most exclusions are from Secondary schools (83% - 95/6) but primary numbers are rising; sharp rise at age 13/ disproportionate percentage of Afro-Caribbean pupils excluded and low skilled family members/ greatest proportion are boys (83%).

Truancy: estimates suggest that 10% of pupil population truant and 1% hardly attend school at all: truancy is associated with single parent and unemployed families; it is frequent in the last year of schooling.

Table 4 Youth Transition

Age	In Ed. or Training (%)	F/T Ed. (%)	P/T Ed. (%)	Gov. Training (%)	Employer training (%)	Other Ed. or Training (%)
16	86.4	70.3	7	10.1	2	4.8
17	78.7	58	8.4	11.5	3.3	6.7
18	59.7	38.1	8.8	8.6	4.5	9

There are significant numbers of young people who are not in training schemes and remain outside employment and education.

Table 5

The continuous preoccupation with the preservation of elite schooling, effected post 1944 by a bureaucratic elite, and post 1979 by neo-liberals, has had a strongly depressing effect on non-academic provision. English education is very good at success for the top 20%, but has a poor record for the rest.

Age	Staying in Education or Training
16	80%
17	58%
18	37%

But 40-50% of 16-18 year olds complete 2 years of post compulsory education without gaining any qualifications: in 1993, six months after leaving youth training programmes, one third of young people had neither a job nor a qualification

- In 1993, 70,000 16 and 17 year olds were unemployed: in 1997, it is thought that there are 76, 000
- 16 and 17 year olds not participating in any form of education, training or employment.
- 15% of young adults have a poor grasp of basic English, and 20% a poor grasp of basic maths: in both cases the incapacity is severe enough to prevent employment.

Agencies working with young people calculate that as many as a third of each generation of young people leave education/training without any qualification and never return: accurate data are hard to obtain because of changes in benefit regulations and because of the poll tax/community charge.

UPPSALA REPORTS ON EDUCATION

List of publication in number order:

8. Ryhammar, Lars & Berglund, Gösta: Children and instruction in road safety: The first part of a research project. March 1980.

9. LOW VISION REHABILITATION II. Proceedings from the international workshop in Uppsala, Sweden, 25-27 September 1978. August 1980.

10. Berg, Gunnar & Wallin, Erik: The school in an organizational perspective. April 1981.

11. Ericson, Britta: Reading disabilities and emotional disturbances. December 1981.

12. Elgqvist-Saltzman, Inga & Opper, Susan: Equality and internationalism: Two concepts at the forefront of educational transformation in Sweden? December 1981.

13. Wallin, Erik: To change a school. Experiences from local development work. March 1982.

14. Palmér, Rikard: A longitudinal study of the social adjustment of mentally retarded adults in Sweden. May 1982.

15. Wallin, Erik; Söderström, Magnus & Berg, Gunnar: The relationship between educational research and organization theory. A report from the education and organization research team, Uppsala. October 1982.

16. Koskenniemi, Matti: A basis for the integration of the instructional process: Subject-matter or learning situations. An unorthodox anti-bureaucratic essay. June 1983.

17. Berg, Gunnar: Schools and the neo-rationalist model of organizations. A report from the SIAu, SABO and PeO projects. December 1983.

18. Bron Jr. Michal & Bron-Wojciechowska, Agnieszka: Adult basic education in Yugoslavia and Poland. An introduction to a comparative analysis. December 1983.

19. Wallin, Erik (Ed.): Educational reform and decentralization. Four papers presented at the ISIP conference at Louvain, Belgium and Stockholm, Sweden. May 1984.

20. Berg, Gunnar: O D in North American schools. A Scandinavian view. Comments by Matthew Miles and Michael Fullan. August 1984.

21. Willén, Birgitta: Self-directive learning and distance education. Can distance education be a good alternative for the self-directed learners? December 1984.

22. Bron Jr. Michal: Adult education and (dis)integration processes in Yugoslavia. December 1985.

23. Wallin, Erik; Söderström, Magnus & Berg, Gunnar (Eds.): Educational research and organizational theory II. Nine papers presented at the international symposium on the relationship between educational research and organization theory in Uppsala, August 1983. A report from the education and organization team, Uppsala, Sweden. January 1986.

24. Ryhammar, Lars & Berglund, Gösta: Preconditions for traffic safety education in the Swedish nine-year compulsory school. The second part of a research project. April 1987.

25. Almqvist, Birgitta: Age and sex differences in children's christmas requests. A naturalistic study of 66 Swedish elementary-school children's toy and non-toy preferences. September 1987.

26. Berg, Gunnar: Organizational analysis. Conceptual instrument and classification scheme. April 1988.

27. Almqvist, Birgitta: Children and toys. A bibliography. September 1989.

28. Lundmark, Annika & Söderström, Magnus: The economics of training and personnel development in organizations - an empirical study and a conceptual framework. November 1989.

29. Negash, Tekeste: The crisis of Ethiopian education: Some implications for nation-building. April 1990.

30. Berg, Gunnar: Curriculum and state schools as organizations. A Scandinavian view. An integration of research into the school as an organization and institution conducted at the Department of Education, Uppsala University. January 1993.

31. Hinke, A.A.M. & Peters, C.M.T.: How the Swedes learn to swim. A study of a decentralized school system. A report from the SLAV project. January 1993.

32. Gustafsson, Christina (Ed.): Department of Education, Uppsala University. Researchers, research teams, and research projects. August 1993.

33. Bracken, Rickard: Educational reform implementation, and actor preparedness. A case study of the Lok Jumbish Project and its effects in two villages in Rajasthan, India. February 1996.

34. Lindblad, Sverker & Popkewitz, Thomas S. (Eds.): Education governance and social integration and exclusion: National cases of educational systems and recent reforms. January 1999.

UPPSALA REPORTS ON EDUCATION

Report series in English from the Department of Education, Uppsala University.

Editors: Karl-Georg Ahlström, Gösta Berglund, Urban Dahllöf and Erik Wallin.

The series is issued from 1978 as a supplement to Uppsala Studies in Education, which is intended for dissertations and other monographs.

Orders for single copies of the Reports should be addressed to

Department of Education
Uppsala University
Box 2109
SE-750 02 UPPSALA

UPPSALA STUDIES IN EDUCATION is included in the Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis and is distributed by Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.

ISBN 91-86744-91-7
ISSN 0348-3649

259

Repro Ekonomikum, Uppsala 1999

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

REPRODUCTION RELEASE

(Specific Document)

I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

Title: EDUCATION GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND EXCLUSION

Author(s): SVERKER LINDBLAD and THOMAS S POPKEWITZ

Corporate Source: UPPSALA UNIVERSITY

Publication Date: 99-00

II. REPRODUCTION RELEASE:

In order to disseminate as widely as possible timely and significant materials of interest to the educational community, documents announced in the monthly abstract journal of the ERIC system, *Resources in Education* (RIE), are usually made available to users in microfiche, reproduced paper copy, and electronic media, and sold through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). Credit is given to the source of each document, and, if reproduction release is granted, one of the following notices is affixed to the document.

If permission is granted to reproduce and disseminate the identified document, please CHECK ONE of the following three options and sign at the bottom of the page.

The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 1 documents

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Sample

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

Level 1

☐

Check here for Level 1 release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche or other ERIC archival media (e.g., electronic) and paper copy.

The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 2A documents

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE, AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY, HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Sample

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2A

Level 2A

☐

Check here for Level 2A release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche and in electronic media for ERIC archival collection subscribers only

The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 2B documents

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Sample

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2B

Level 2B

☐

Check here for Level 2B release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche only

Documents will be processed as indicated provided reproduction quality permits.
If permission to reproduce is granted, but no box is checked, documents will be processed at Level 1.

I hereby grant to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) nonexclusive permission to reproduce and disseminate this document as indicated above. Reproduction from the ERIC microfiche or electronic media by persons other than ERIC employees and its system contractors requires permission from the copyright holder. Exception is made for non-profit reproduction by libraries and other service agencies to satisfy information needs of educators in response to discrete inquiries.

Sign here, → please

Signature:	Printed Name/Position/Title: SVERKER LINDBLAD / PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION
Organization/Address: DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, UPPSALA UNIVERSITY, BOX 2109, 75002 UPPSALA SWEDEN	Telephone: 46-18471-2405 / FAX: 46+18471651
	E-Mail Address: Sverker.Lindblad@ped.uu.se / Date: 020123

(over)

III. DOCUMENT AVAILABILITY INFORMATION (FROM NON-ERIC SOURCE):

If permission to reproduce is not granted to ERIC, *or*, if you wish ERIC to cite the availability of the document from another source, please provide the following information regarding the availability of the document. (ERIC will not announce a document unless it is publicly available, and a dependable source can be specified. Contributors should also be aware that ERIC selection criteria are significantly more stringent for documents that cannot be made available through EDRS.)

Publisher/Distributor:
Address:
Price:

IV. REFERRAL OF ERIC TO COPYRIGHT/REPRODUCTION RIGHTS HOLDER:

If the right to grant this reproduction release is held by someone other than the addressee, please provide the appropriate name and address:

Name:
Address:

V. WHERE TO SEND THIS FORM:

Send this form to the following ERIC Clearinghouse:

Acquisitions Coordinator
ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education
Center on Education and Training for Employment
1900 Kenny Road
Columbus, OH 43210-1090

However, if solicited by the ERIC Facility, or if making an unsolicited contribution to ERIC, return this form (and the document being contributed) to: